

Sport and the Victorian City:

The development of commercialised spectator sport, Bradford 1836-1908

David Pendleton

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of De Montfort

University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2015

Abstract

This study is a history of popular spectator sport in the city of Bradford between the years 1836 and 1908. Its major aim is to chart and analyse the experience of Bradford in relation to the national development of sport in the modern city and how spectator sport, in particular, helped shape personal and civic identities in a burgeoning industrial community. This project builds on a growing body of work on the development of sport and leisure in British towns and cities during the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it will both complement earlier studies on sport in Bradford and West Yorkshire and add to our understanding of how urban sporting and leisure cultures were forged through a combination of national trends and local economic and social peculiarities.

The emergence of a national sporting culture ran parallel with an exponential acceleration in urbanisation, the adoption of the factory system, regularised working hours and growth in disposable income. Bradford's sporting culture, however, was also a product of the city's shifting social structures, which had been shaped by its unique economy. As a consequence, Bradford also played a significant role in determining the national sporting culture as well as reflecting wider trends.

Bradford's move from an essentially pre-industrial sporting landscape towards a recognisably modern one took place over a period of little more than fifty years. However, it will be shown that this was an uneven process. In challenging Malcolmson's 'leisure vacuum' theory, it will be argued that Bradford's sporting culture exhibited as much continuity as change. Pre-modern sporting practices, such as the game of knur and spell (presented here as a case study), for example, overlapped with the emergence of codified team sports. Nevertheless, the changes that were wrought in the second half of the nineteenth century were significant and lasting as an increasingly assertive working class had more time and money to spend on leisure. The thesis not only examines and charts how the development of cricket, soccer and rugby within the city were subject to changing economic and cultural contexts, but, especially through an analysis of the switch from rugby to soccer of both Manningham FC and Bradford FC, how agency was a crucial factor in bringing about historical change.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the staff of De Montfort University, in particular my first supervisor Professor Tony Collins, whose enthusiasm and interest has been vital to the production of this thesis and my second supervisor Neil Carter whose constructive criticism dramatically improved the thesis.

Also, I acknowledge the staff of Bradford Local Studies Library, Bradford Industrial Museum and the West Yorkshire Archive Service for their help and interest. The generosity and assistance given to me by officials and supporters of Bradford & Bingley RUFC; Bradford Bulls RLFC; Bradford Cricket League; Bradford City AFC; and Bradford Park Avenue AFC has been invaluable. Many other individuals, including: Chris Ambler; John Ashton; Mick Callaghan; John Dewhirst; Brian Heywood; Mick Pendleton; Dave Russell; John K. Walton have all played a role in bringing this work to its conclusion.

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late father Ernest Pendleton who pushed me through the turnstiles at Park Avenue and Valley Parade at a tender age and began an obsession that remains with me to this day.

David Pendleton, Bradford, 2015.

Contents:

Introduction

i Historiography of Bradford and Urban Culture	xi
ii Historiography of Sport	xxiv
iii Themes	xxxvii
iv Sources	xlii
v Structure of the Thesis	xlvi

Chapter One

Pre-Modern sporting leisure in Victorian Bradford c.1750-1868

i Bradford's Industrial Revolution	4
ii The Supposed Leisure Vacuum	11
iii Horse Racing	18
iv The Publican as an Entrepreneur of Entertainment	24
v Pedestrianism	31
vi Knur and Spell	39

Chapter Two

‘As in Burma or even Bradford Park Avenue’

Bradford Cricket Club 1836-1880

i From Chartism to Capitalism	53
ii Bradford Cricket Club	59
iii Cricket, the first commercial team spectator sport	76
iv Cricket’s Half-Hearted North-South Schism	82
v The Road to Park Avenue	88
vi A Civic Enclosure	96
vii Cricket in the Neighbourhood and Workplace	108

Chapter Three

The Rise of Rugby c.1863-1892

i Liberalism and Global Competition	125
ii Informal Football	130
iii Public Schools and the Formation of Bradford FC	138
iv Manningham FC, a people’s team?	155
v King Football: commercialism, populism and professionalism	165
vi Crowds and Congestion, the price of popularity	177
vii Barbarians Abroad in Bradford	185

Chapter Four

A Transformation of Sport: the coming of the leagues 1892-1903

i Working Class Self-Determination on and off the Field of Play	199
ii The Yorkshire Senior Competition, rugby's first league	204
iii A Northern Union, rugby's second league	222
iv Death of a Hero	234
v The Decline of the Northern Union in Bradford	240
vi The cricket Leagues	247

Chapter Five

Schoolboys and professionals

Football and the worstedopolis, 1895-1903

i Bradford Granted City Status	281
ii Football Missionaries	284
iii Bradford or Leeds?	302
iv Bradford City AFC, football comes to Valley Parade	317
v Cash or Class? Bradford FC and the Northern Union	321

Chapter Six

A Modern Sporting Landscape

Bradford Park Avenue AFC and Bradford Northern RLFC 1907-1908	
i Edwardian Bradford	339
ii 1907 and all that, the merger controversy	341
iii The Curious Case of Bradford (Park Avenue) and the Southern League	382
iv Bradford Northern Union	402
 Conclusion	 410
 Appendix	 422
 Bibliography	 449
 List of tables	
 Table 1.1	
Percentage Population Growth in Northern England 1801 to 1851	5
 Table 1.2	
Scorecard of Knur and Spell match, Bradford, April 1863	43
 Table 2.1	

Local Cricket Matches Reported in the <i>Bradford Observer</i> July 1856 to 1866	115
--	-----

Table 4.1

Percentage Population Growth of European Cities 1801 to 1911	204
--	-----

Table 5.1

Votes Cast at the Football League AGM 1903	314
--	-----

Table 6.1

Votes Cast at the Football League AGM 1907	386
--	-----

Table 6.2

Votes Cast at the Football League AGM 1908	398
--	-----

Introduction

On the evening of 26 April 1911 Bradford City's team arrived at Bradford Exchange railway station after winning the new FA Cup trophy following a 1-0 victory over Newcastle United in a replayed final at Old Trafford. A reported 100,000 people, roughly a third of the entire population of the city, lined the streets to welcome home the victorious team.¹ The lord mayor boarded the train as it arrived in the station to give the team a civic welcome. Fifty years earlier codified football did not exist in Bradford. However, by 1911 a professional football team, comprising of eight Scotsmen, two Englishmen and one Irishman, was arguably being embraced as an integral part of the city's identity and progression from market town to one of the world's leading industrial cities. Even the new FA Cup trophy could be portrayed as being representative of Bradford's economy as it had been designed in the city by the jewellers Fattorini's. However, the celebrations which seemingly united Bradford hid the fact that the city had a contested identity in sport, Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC had been formed in 1907 and Bradford Northern was the city's representative in the rugby league. It was a vibrant, albeit disunited, sporting culture largely based around professional team sport, but it was a culture that was less than fifty years old. How that

¹ *Daily Mirror*, 29 April 1911.

sporting culture developed, in tandem with the physical city itself, from the often informal, *ad hoc* and raucous to the regularised, professional and the use of sport as a metaphor of the city's prowess and progress, is central to the aims of this thesis.

This thesis explores the emergence of popular spectator sport in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. The focus is limited to an individual city, in this case Bradford, and between the years 1836 and 1908. Dave Russell identified, very crudely by his own admission, three distinct periods of popular recreation in Bradford: the first 1800 to 1830 when traditional elements persisted; the second 1830 to 1850, an age of crisis which coincides with Chartism; and finally 1850 to 1900 an era of expansion and the establishment of codified sport.² It mirrors Mike Huggins chronological model he provided for Middlesbrough.³ Bradford's experience is probably representative of most large British towns and cities, but in particularly those of the textiles districts on either side of the Pennines. The thesis considers the impact Bradford's rapid industrial expansion and urbanisation had on the development, provision, commercialisation and professionalisation of sport. This thesis

² Dave Russell, 'The Pursuit of Leisure', in D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowett, eds., *Victorian Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Metropolitan, 1982), p.199.

³ Mike Huggins, 'Leisure and Sport in Middlesbrough 1840-1914', A.J. Pollard, ed., *Town and Community* (Stroud: Sutton, 1996), pp.128-9; Catherine Budd and Neil Carter, 'A Noble Game Became Degraded: The rise and fall of professional football in Middlesbrough, 1889-1894', *North East History Journal*, no. 45 (2014), p.2.

attempts to view those developments in a national and international context and relate them to the prevailing economic, political and social circumstances. It is another addition to the growing number of works examining the development of sport and leisure at the town and city level.⁴ This thesis not only adds to the localised studies of the development of sport, it seeks to illustrate how rapid urban expansion impacted upon, and helped drive changes, to British sport that would reverberate around the world.

The city of Bradford is as much a product of the industrial revolution as the millions of tons of textile goods the city produced during its reign as the wool capital of the world. In the first half of the nineteenth century Bradford underwent a transformation from market town to industrial conurbation. Bradford's growth was not unique, but it was certainly notable.⁵ The rapidity of its population growth, its centrality to some of the most turbulent political events of the era and its disparate population were high hurdles to overcome. However, by the time of Queen Victoria's death the city had largely tamed the industrial beast and had developed a strong civic identity that would be

⁴ Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Catherine Budd, *The Growth of an Urban Sporting Culture – Middlesbrough, c.1870-1914* (PhD. thesis, De Montfort University, 2012); Jeremy Crump, *Amusements of the People, the provision of recreation in Leicester, 1850-1914* (Phd. thesis, University of Warwick, 1985); Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

⁵ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1971), p.59. When Victoria came to the throne in 1837 there were only five conurbations outside London in England and Wales with a population of over 100,000. By 1891 there were twenty-three towns and cities with six figure populations.

carried into the sporting arena. This thesis will examine why Bradford became the so-called Worstedsopolis, the pressures that rapid industrialisation and population growth had on the city and the eventual emergence of a civic identity. This will allow the town's sporting developments, which will be described in later chapters, to be placed in their wider social context.

i Historiography of Bradford and Urban Culture

As will be charted throughout this thesis, Bradford was effectively a product of the Victorian era. Apart from a siege during the Civil War the town had trod lightly in a historical sense until industrialisation transformed it into one of the shock cities of the industrial revolution. Thus it is unsurprising that the first written work on Bradford did not appear until 1841 in the shape of John James's *The History and Topography of Bradford*.⁶ James published a second work *Continuation and Additions to the History of Bradford and its Parish*, in 1866.⁷ James claimed that Bradford had effectively no history. The formation of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society in 1878 was a watershed moment in the recording of the town's history. It has been claimed that Thomas Empsall was the instigator. He was certainly the society's first

⁶ John James, *The History and Topography of Bradford* (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1841).

⁷ John James, *Continuation and Additions to the History of Bradford and its Parish* (Bradford: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866).

president. The society's journal, *The Bradford Antiquary*, was first published in 1888 and it remains in publication to this day.⁸ The society brought to prominence perhaps two of Bradford's most important historians, William Cudworth and William Scruton. Between 1881 and 1885 Cudworth produced two books that give a flavour of the impact of the radical transformation of Bradford from market town to industrial metropolis.⁹ His first work considered the evolution of local government in Bradford, the second focussed on the impact that industrialisation had on the working classes of the town. William Scruton's later works, published in 1889 and 1897, had an element of pastoralism in their reflective glance back to a lost Bradford.¹⁰ However, more pertinently, their works are undoubtedly part of the emergence of a feeling of civic pride and identity that was developing as Victorian Bradford developed into the self-styled Worstedopolis.

If the formation of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society was the significant moment in the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century the establishment of the University of Bradford in 1967, and the opening of a new Bradford Central Library in the same year, represented a step change in the

⁸ 'The Bradford Antiquary' <http://www.bradfordhistorical.org.uk/antiquary/index.html> accessed 31 Dec. 2014.

⁹ William Cudworth, *Historical Notes on the Bradford Corporation* (Bradford: 1881); William Cudworth, *Condition of the Industrial Classes of Bradford & District* (Bradford: 1885).

¹⁰ William Scruton, *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford* (Bradford: 1889); William Scruton, *Bradford Fifty Years Ago* (Bradford: Sewell, 1897).

examination and interpretation of the history of Bradford. The former has produced many academic studies while the public archive at the latter has proved invaluable for amateur and professional researchers alike. It should also be noted that students at Leeds University have also produced many valuable works that have focussed on Bradford. A large number of academic studies have concentrated on Bradford's industrial growth. These range from the early industries of coal and iron, through to what became known as 'the Bradford trade', the production and sale of woollen textiles.¹¹ The *Journal of the Bradford Textile Society* carried numerous articles on the textile trade and is a vital resource for historians interested in what was Bradford's dominant industry.¹²

Apart from the regularisation of working hours leisure has only received passing attention in most studies. This is unsurprising for, as Crump noted, 'the sub-discipline of urban history has contributed relatively little to the history of leisure'.¹³ Similarly, the emergence of the Independent Labour Party in the wake of the iconic Manningham Mills strike has been a popular area of

¹¹ Gary Firth, 'The Genesis of the Industrial Revolution in Bradford 1760-1820' (PhD. thesis, Bradford University, 1974); Gary Firth, 'The Bradford Trade in the Nineteenth Century', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowett eds., *Victorian Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1982).

¹² Bradford College Textile Archive holds many copies of *The Journal of the Bradford Textile Society* and other industry publications and records.

¹³ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.9.

study.¹⁴ However, despite the establishment of the Bradford Labour Cricket League, again little has been written about the sporting activities of the followers of parties and organisations across the political spectrum. Another rich seam of study has been Bradford's education policies.¹⁵ The city pioneered the provision of school dinners and swimming pools within board schools. A notable exception to the widespread neglect of leisure was Horace Hird's 1972 *Bradford Remembrancer*, a collection of twenty-six essays focussing on people who left their mark on Bradford's history.¹⁶ His study of the football card pioneer John Baines was one of the first works to acknowledge the centrality of sport and leisure to the lives of ordinary Bradfordians. Hird also featured 'the king of pantomime' Francis Laidler, who developed the Alhambra Theatre, and Samuel Smith, a mayor of the city who was the driving force behind the erection of St. George's Hall. The classical subscription concerts held at St. George's Hall, and the strong connection of

¹⁴ Keith Laybourn, 'The Manningham Mills Strike: its importance in Bradford history', *The Bradford Antiquary*, new series, part XLVI, Oct. 1976; Cyril Pearce, *The Manningham Mills Strike, Bradford, December 1890-April 1891* (Hull: Hull University of Hull, 1975); Jack Reynolds and Keith Laybourn, 'The Emergence of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford', *International Review of Social History* (1975), Vol.20, issue 3; W.D. Ross, 'Bradford Politics 1880-1906: A detailed study of the fortunes of the political parties in Bradford as shown in the parliamentary elections and by the movement of public opinion' (Phd., Bradford University, 1977).

¹⁵ Bradford Corporation, *Education in Bradford since 1870* (Bradford: Bradford Corporation, 1970); Tony Moxon, *Hoc Age, Bradford Grammar School 1818-1996* (Bradford: MCB University Press, 1999).

¹⁶ Horace Hird, *Bradford Remembrancer, twenty-six essays on people, or incidents in their lives which are worthy of remembrance* (Bradford: McDonald, 1972).

Bradford's German community with those events, has been the subject of scholarly study by Dave Russell.¹⁷

Asa Briggs, born in Keighley, wrote about the rivalry between Bradford and Leeds in his pioneering 1963 book *Victorian Cities*.¹⁸ However, it was within a chapter entitled 'Leeds: A Study in Civic Pride', which rather placed Bradford in the historical shadow of its neighbour. The first modern history that focussed solely on Bradford was Joseph Fieldhouse's *Bradford*, which was published in 1978.¹⁹ The collection of eleven essays in the 1982 publication David G. Wright and J. A. Jowett (eds.), *Victorian Bradford*, was arguably the first thorough academic examination of nineteenth century Bradford.²⁰ The book was published as a tribute to Jack Reynolds, a pioneering modern historian of Bradford and the Labour movement; during decades of teaching at Grange High School and Bradford University he had taught many of the contributors to the publication. Perhaps his most important book in a solely Bradford sense was his 1983 work *The Great Paternalist, Titus Salt and the growth of nineteenth century Bradford*.²¹

¹⁷ Dave Russell, 'Provincial Concerts in England, 1865-1914: A Case-Study of Bradford', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 114, No. 1 (1989).

¹⁸ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1971).

¹⁹ Joseph Fieldhouse, *Bradford* (Bradford: Watmoughs & Bradford Council, revised edition, 1978).

²⁰ D.G. Wright and J.A. Jowett, eds., *Victorian Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1982).

²¹ Jack Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist, Titus Salt and the growth of nineteenth century Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Art Galleries & Museums, 1983).

The publication of two works in 1990, Gary Frith, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution, an economic history*, and David James, *Bradford*, were valuable additions to the understanding of Bradford's rapid growth throughout the nineteenth century.²² Firth's work in particular captured the role of the canal in facilitating the expansion of the industrial base. He challenged the assumption that Bradford was a single industry town with his conclusion that it was coal that began the town's industrial revolution and not textiles.²³ Arguably the most outstanding piece of social history in relation to Bradford is Paul Jennings's *The Public House in Bradford, 1770-1970*.²⁴ Jennings managed to place the evolution of the public house within the wider economic and societal context, without losing sight of the fact that it was the individual publicans, and their customers, who adjusted to changing leisure patterns and licensing laws in an expanding city. By contrast Theodore Koditschek's *Class Formation and Industrial Society, Bradford 1750-1850*, is almost overwhelmed by political theory. It is not one of the most accessible of publications. Koditschek claims that Bradford is worthy of study as it was representative, albeit in an

²² Gary Frith, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution, an economic history, 1760-1840* (Halifax: Ryburn, 1990); David James, *Bradford* (Halifax: Ryburn, 1990).

²³ Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, pp.89-91.

²⁴ Paul Jennings, *The Public House in Bradford 1770-1970* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995).

extreme manner, of societal changes taking place across Victorian Britain.

Koditschek's book could be described as a Marxist history of Bradford.²⁵

Another book packed with theories is Malcolm Hardman's *Ruskin and Bradford, an experiment in Victorian cultural history*. A challenging read, but Hardman's use of newspapers, literary works, fine arts and diaries to reassess both Ruskin and Bradford's social elite is an interesting way to examine history.²⁶ George Sheeran's *Brass Castles* helps define the new rich of Bradford's industrial expansion.²⁷ This work, allied to William Cudworth's analysis of Sir Jacob Behrens' inquiry into the living conditions of Bradford's working class between 1875 and 1885, gives a broad sweep of the income and status of the population.²⁸ Behrens was one of the best-known members of Bradford's foreign, and largely German, business community. As Dave Russell noted, Behrens played an important part in the incorporation of the regular classic subscription concerts at St George's Hall that commenced in 1864.²⁹ John S. Roberts wrote a history and guide of the warehouse area

²⁵ Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society, Bradford, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

²⁶ Malcolm Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford, an experiment in Victorian cultural history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

²⁷ George Sheeran, *Brass Castles, West Yorkshire new rich and their houses 1800-1914* (Stroud: Tempus, 1993).

²⁸ William Cudworth, *Condition of the Industrial Classes of Bradford & District* (Bradford: 1885).

²⁹ Russell, 'Provincial Concerts in England', p.44. The city's German community made up some 10% of the concert subscribers as late as the 1880s.

developed by Bradford's German community that became known as Little Germany.³⁰ The area was the centre of Bradford's export trade and the elaborate architecture demonstrates the wealth generated during the city's industrial zenith.

There are many non-academic histories of Bradford of varying usefulness to understanding the development of the city. The majority of the books pass through the centuries in a chronological order. It is an approach that becomes overly familiar, most cover the same developments and arrive at very similar conclusions. Margaret Law's *Story of Bradford* moves rapidly through the history of the city prior to the industrial revolution. The focus is very much on the growth of Bradford during its industrial heyday. Leisure receives scant attention aside from references to rational recreation venues such as St. George's Hall, libraries and public parks.³¹ Although it offers little original research, Alan Avery's *Story of Bradford* offers a gateway introduction to the city's history. The centuries fill a few colourfully illustrated pages.³² Fitting a city's history into one volume requires tough editorial decisions and therefore Gary Firth's publication, *A History of Bradford*, by his own admission, is one of broad brushstrokes.³³ Firth is honest enough to admit that elements had to be

³⁰ John S. Roberts, *Little Germany* (Bradford Art Galleries and Museums, 1977).

³¹ Margaret Law, *The Story of Bradford* (Bradford: Pitman, 1913).

³² Alan Avery, *The Story of Bradford* (Pickering: Blackthorn, 2008).

³³ Gary Firth, *A History of Bradford* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997), p.xi.

skimmed over and that citations had to be omitted. The book is aimed squarely at those outside higher education. *Bradford A Centenary City* is a celebration book produced in 1997 to mark the centenary of the granting of city status to Bradford. It does devote a chapter to sport, but it is largely a procession of well-known facts.³⁴ Bob Duckett and John Waddington's *Bradford, History and Guide*, is a self-confessed 'popular history' and, although it offers a general overview, it contains little new research.³⁵ Alan Hall's 2013 *Story of Bradford* brings the city's history up to date. Hall avoids replicating previous histories by adopting a thematic approach that focuses on industry, people, textiles barons, politics and the arts. Leisure is once again conspicuous by its absence.³⁶

The growth of spectator sport in Victorian and Edwardian Britain has been thoroughly probed by historians and as a result a broad historiography now exists. This will be explored in the following section. However, while discussing Bradford's historiography it is worth considering works by two authors: Tony Arnold and Dave Russell.³⁷ Arnold's *A Game That Would Pay*, a

³⁴ *Bradford, A Centenary City* (Bradford: Bradford Metropolitan Council, 1997), pp.132-45.

³⁵ Bob Duckett & John Waddington-Feather, *Bradford, History and Guide* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p.7.

³⁶ Alan Hall, *The Story of Bradford* (Stroud: History Press, 2013).

³⁷ A.J. Arnold, *A Game That Would Pay: a business history of professional football in Bradford* (Duckworth, 1988); Dave Russell, 'The Pursuit of Leisure', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowitt, eds., *Victorian Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Metropolitan, 1982).

business history of professional football in Bradford, was focused mainly on the economic imperatives behind the development of professional football in Bradford. However, he does give an overview of the social factors that ran parallel to the economics and recognises the politics of identity that prevented a merger between the city's two main football clubs. Arnold was the first author to illustrate the developments in Bradford sport that led to the modern sporting landscape of two professional football clubs and a professional rugby league club. However, aside from the overlap between football and cricket at Park Avenue, he largely ignored the cricketing culture of Bradford that this thesis will argue is an indivisible part of the city's sporting developments and heritage. Dave Russell's 'The Pursuit of Leisure' attempts to capture Bradford's leisure in all its forms from the music hall to the professional sport ground. His three-phase model for the development of sport, which will be discussed in the structure section later, is particularly useful in both a local and national context. In a purely footballing context, and this refers to both codes, Russell's 'Sporadic and Curious; the emergence of rugby and soccer zones in Yorkshire and Lancashire, c.1860-1914', is an invaluable study of the spread of football in the context of migrations from rugby.³⁸ Russell's contended that a combination of the financial difficulties experienced by the Northern Union and the general popularity of football, was probably a

³⁸ Dave Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious; the emergence of rugby and soccer zones in Yorkshire and Lancashire, c.1860-1914', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.5, No.2 (September 1988).

greater factor for the adoption of professional football in Bradford than any expansionist agenda of the Football League.³⁹ That conclusion will be tested both against research into events in Bradford during that period and the work of others, most notably Tony Collins and Trevor Delaney.⁴⁰ This thesis hopes to fill a significant gap as regards the development of sporting leisure in Bradford.

The urbanisation of Britain is clearly at the heart of this thesis. Urbanisation has been described as 'one of the most remarkable social changes' of the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Waller claimed that 1851 was the 'commonly observed turning point' in the move towards an urbanised society as, for the first time, over 50% of England's population resided in towns.⁴² Handlin argued that three factors drove the development of modern cities: the emergence of a centralised nation state, personified by the passing of education, factory, local government and public health acts; economic transformation, the construction of factories, offices and warehouses to service an increasingly sophisticated, and increasingly global, economy; improved transport links, the development

³⁹ Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', p.198.

⁴⁰ Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: class culture and the origins of Rugby League Football* (Frank Cass, 1998); Trevor Delaney, 'The Impact of Association Football on the Northern Union in the Present West Yorkshire circa 1895-1908, part one when rugby was the people's game' *Code 13*; Trevor Delaney, 'The Great Betrayal at Park Avenue, Bradford, a three way split of the north's oldest rugby clubs' *Code 13*.

⁴¹ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.1.

⁴² P. J Waller, *Town, City and Nation, England 1850-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), p.1.

of a national railway system and locally tramways, described as 'the technological destruction of distance'.⁴³ Meller presented London as the prototype modern city. She categorised Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham and Bristol as the first group of provincial towns to pass the 100,000 population mark and in the mid-nineteenth century they were joined by Meller's 'second group' led by Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Newcastle, Bradford, Salford and Stoke.⁴⁴

An important element of this thesis is how the city came to offer its inhabitants a sense of identity and sport's involvement in that process. Hunt argued that from the 1860s there was a shift from 'unbridled commerce and voluntary self-help' towards a 'different understanding of the city which linked urban identity with popularly elected municipal authority'.⁴⁵ Joseph Chamberlin described Birmingham as a 'co-operative enterprise in which every citizen is a share-holder, and of which the dividends are receivable in the improved health and the increase in comfort and happiness of the community'.⁴⁶ However, Gunn argued that there was no single definition of a civic culture. To illustrate the point he used the 1873 opening of Bradford

⁴³ Oscar Handlin, 'The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study', Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, eds., *The Historian and the City* (Cambridge: MIT, 1966), pp.1-27.

⁴⁴ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.2.

⁴⁵ Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem, the rise and fall, of the Victorian city* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), p.234.

⁴⁶ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, p.254.

Town Hall, a physical symbol of municipal authority, hosted by the mayor, the personification of municipal government, and a procession of the town's leading trades, allowing a simultaneous celebration of 'the city, its trades and institutions'.⁴⁷ In this thesis it will be argued that there was also no single definition of civic culture in the context of sport as in Bradford two rugby, later football, clubs fought for the right to be viewed as the civic flag carriers. The rivalry was often defined on geographical terms which perhaps illustrates that the rapid growth of the city had to an extent raced ahead of the individual's sense of identity and belonging. The duality of the highly localised identity displayed by supporters of Manningham Rugby Club and the seemingly contrary ambition to raise Manningham to become Bradford's premier sporting club is a useful illustration of that process.

Whether the emergence of a civic identity and whether a civic spirit actually permeated to all sections of society was raised by Lees and Hollen Lees.⁴⁸ That is an intriguing question, as throughout this thesis there appears to be a parallel, but not necessarily overlapping, growth of local pride among both those who proclaimed the civic gospel and those who found identity via supporting a football team that carried the town's name. As Collins noted

⁴⁷ Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class, ritual and authority in the English industrial city, 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp.168-9.

⁴⁸ Andrew Lees & Lynn Hollen Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.201.

sports such as football could offer spectators a collective class identity and in places such as Bradford that would equate to a working-class identity.⁴⁹ Gunn did note that from the mid-nineteenth century civic events and processions began to include the working-classes. He claimed this was to present a facade of 'orderliness and loyalty' that was a marked contrast to the Chartist gatherings a generation earlier.⁵⁰ Thus sport could be both an integral part of, and separate from, what Joyce called, 'a corporate town identity' depending on whether you watched a match from the members' seats or the terraces, or in the case of Bradford which of the town's two main teams you chose to support.⁵¹

ii Historiography of Sport

It was once contended that the history of sport was overlooked and undervalued by historians. As Tony Collins commented 'sport has been traditionally deemed to be trivial when compared to mainstream concerns such as war, politics or diplomacy'.⁵² However, in recent years the value of using sport to gain a fuller understanding of social history has gathered pace,

⁴⁹ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society, a short history* (Routledge, 2013), p.54.

⁵⁰ Gunn, *Public Culture*, pp.174-5.

⁵¹ Patrick Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics, The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), p.278.

⁵² Tony Collins, 'Early Football and the Emergence of Modern Soccer, c.1840-1880', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* (2015), p.1.

particularly in Britain. That is apt given Britain's central role in codifying and spreading, what might be termed, modern sport around the globe. Of course, Britain was not the only country to influence the direction in which sport developed, but there is no doubting Britain's centrality. Thus events at places as diverse as Blackheath and Bradford, or Rugby and Rotherham, resounded around the world. As Eric Hobsbawm argued, sport is one of Europe's most significant social practices of the Victorian and Edwardian eras.⁵³

Richard Holt's *Sport and the British* has been described as a 'landmark, even foundational text in the sub-discipline of sport history'.⁵⁴ Holt offered the framework of pre-industrial sport, amateurism, sport in an urban and industrialised setting, sport's role in setting regional and national identities and the commercialisation and professionalism of sport. The fact that they are still relevant a quarter of a century after the publication of *Sport and the British* is further evidence of the centrality of Holt's work. As a rapidly industrialising and expanding city, Bradford has elements of all of Holt's framework, but in particular the move through pre-industrial sport towards a commercialised and nationalised modern sporting landscape is particularly resonant. Standing shoulder to shoulder with Holt's pioneering tome is Tony

⁵³ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass Producing Traditions: Europe 1870-1914', Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Rangers, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 193), p.298.

⁵⁴ Mike Cronin, 'Introduction: *Sport and the British* – 21 Years On', *Sport in History*, volume 31, number 2, June 2011, p.135.

Mason's *Association Football*, although the book will be discussed later in relation to football, the wider impact of Mason's study should be recognised. As Cronin wrote Mason 'raised the profile of sport as a suitable subject for historical study'.⁵⁵ Although sport has emerged from the academic shadows there is still an air of detachment. Martin Johnes and Dilwyn Porter have commented that sports historians can be detached from historians outside the sub-discipline.⁵⁶ Wray Vamplew argued that such sentiments were particularly applicable to economic historians.⁵⁷ As previously noted regarding Bradford's historiography, sport is still largely an under represented element of local history studies.

Possibly one of the biggest theoretical advances since the 1980s has been the understanding that the so-called pre-modern sporting practices often survived and significantly overlapped the societal changes wrought by industrialisation. The theory that changes to working practices, such as the imposition of the factory system of fixed hours and urbanisation, created a leisure vacuum where exhausted workers had little or no time for sporting leisure, was forwarded by, among others, Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular*

⁵⁵ Cronin, 'Introduction', p.183.

⁵⁶ Dilwyn Porter, 'Sports History and Modern British History', *Sport in History*, volume 31, number 2, June 2011, pp.181-2; Martin Johnes, 'Great Britain', S.W. Pope and John Nauright eds., *Routledge Companion to Sports History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p.445.

⁵⁷ Wray Vamplew, *Pay up and play the game, professional sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.11-12.

Recreations in English Society, and R.J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution*.⁵⁸ However, the leisure vacuum theory has been firmly, and convincingly, rebuffed by revisionist historians, most notably Richard Holt, *Sport and the British*; Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain*; James Walvin, *Leisure and Society*.⁵⁹ Walvin pointed to vibrant sporting cultures in Birmingham, Manchester and Sheffield and this has subsequently been reinforced by localised studies such as: Catherine Budd, *The Growth of an Urban Sporting Culture – Middlesbrough, c.1870-1914*; Andy Croll, *Civilizing the Urban, popular culture and public space in Merthyr, c.1870-1914*; Mike Huggins, 'Leisure and Sport in Middlesbrough 1840-1914'; Alan Metcalfe, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community*.⁶⁰ That said, there were undoubted changes to sporting practices that included the edging of blood sports to society's periphery. Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain*; Douglas A. Reid, 'Beasts and Brutes: popular blood sports',

⁵⁸ Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 1973); R.J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850* (MacMillan, 1979).

⁵⁹ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British, a modern history* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998); James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (Longman, 1978).

⁶⁰ Catherine Budd, *The Growth of an Urban Sporting Culture – Middlesbrough, c.1870-1914* (PhD. thesis, De Montfort University, 2012); Andy Croll, *Civilizing the Urban, popular culture and public space in Merthyr, c.1870-1914* (Cardiff: University of Wales), 2000; Mike Huggins, 'Leisure and Sport in Middlesbrough 1840-1914', A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Town and Community* (Stroud: Sutton, 1996); Alan Metcalfe, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community, the social economy of leisure in north-east England, 1820-1914* (Routledge, 2006).

illustrate the shift.⁶¹ F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, argued that, in an urban context at least, cruel sports involving animals disappeared before the end of the 1850s, or were at least in the final stages of decline.⁶² Reid, in 'Beasts and Brutes' concurred, noting a shift from cruel sports towards dog racing and pedestrianism in the West Midlands. As will be argued Bradford had a vibrant pre-modern sporting culture and similarly the edging of cruel sports towards the margins of society is also represented in the town.

As Britain's most popular game football has a comprehensive list of academic studies. However, studies of the game as a whole are surprisingly thin on the ground. James Walvin's *The People's Game*, published in 1975, was the first written by a professional historian.⁶³ However, Walvin's repudiation of footnotes (he seemed to imagine that they might intimidate a popular readership), has meant that this landmark publication has not had the impact it deserved. Arguably, Dave Russell's *Football and the English* was the first

⁶¹ Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Douglas A. Reid, 'Beasts and Brutes: popular blood sports, c. 1780-1860', Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

⁶² F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society, a social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁶³ James Walvin, *The People's Game, the history of football revisited* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994).

comprehensive history of modern football.⁶⁴ Although Russell's scope was confined to England, he paid particular attention to regional identities and rivalries and events within Bradford are well documented in Russell's work. Matthew Taylor's *The Association Game*, in some respects the successor to Russell's work, was the first publication to consider football across Britain as a whole.⁶⁵ Taylor pulled together the writings of historians, geographers and sociologists to consider the place of football in Britain and its relationship with the global game. Both publications allow developments in Bradford to be placed into its wider context.

The origins of football have been a contentious topic among historians in recent years. However, as Huw Richards, in *A Game for Hooligans*, argued, no-one can convincingly state that they invented something as elemental as kicking a ball.⁶⁶ In differing degrees Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*; Adrian Harvey, *Football: The First Hundred Years, the untold story*; Richard Holt, 'Football and the Urban way of Life in Nineteenth-Century Britain'; Gavin Kitching, 'Old Football and the New Codes'; and Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game*, stated that an extant footballing culture

⁶⁴ Dave Russell, *Football and the English, a social history of association football, 1863-1995* (Preston: Carnegie, 1997).

⁶⁵ Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game, a history of British football* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2008).

⁶⁶ Huw Richards, *A Game for Hooligans, the history of Rugby Union* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2006).

was in place among the working classes and that supposed missionary efforts by middle-class individuals, returning from public school education, have been overstated.⁶⁷ Gary James and Dave Day, in 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester', offered evidence of one such culture in place at Manchester.⁶⁸ Kitching concluded that Rugby and Eton rules 'may now be regarded as formalisations of games already being played in wider society'.⁶⁹ However, as will be indicated in this thesis, making a direct linkage between 'folk football' and the later formularised version is, as Dave Russell argued, fraught with difficulty.⁷⁰ Peter Swain, in 'Cultural Continuity and Football in Nineteenth-century Lancashire', attempted to prove a cultural continuity between folk football and the early development of codified football in east Lancashire, but was unconvincing.⁷¹ For example, football does appear to have been played and widely understood in Bradford prior to codification, but concluding that the town therefore had an extant football culture is questionable.

⁶⁷ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (Croom Helm, 1980); Adrian Harvey, *Football: The First Hundred Years, the untold story* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005); Richard Holt, 'Football and the Urban way of Life in Nineteenth-Century Britain', J.A. Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism, British culture and sport at home and abroad 1700-1914* (Frank Cass, 1988); Gavin Kitching, 'Old Football and the New Codes: some thoughts on the origins of football debate and suggestions for further research', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 28, issue 13, 2011; Taylor, *The Association Game*.

⁶⁸ Gary James and Dave Day, 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840-1884', *Sport in History*, Vol.34, No.1, (2014).

⁶⁹ Kitching, 'Old Football and the New Codes'.

⁷⁰ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.7.

⁷¹ Peter Swain, 'Cultural Continuity and Football in Nineteenth-century Lancashire', *Sport in History*, Vol.28, No.4, Dec. 2008.

Tony Mason's *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*, not only gave the game of football one of its stand out histories, Mason also introduced the idea that working class ideas and values were every bit as influential on the development of the game as those of the administrators, former public schoolboys and owners and directors of clubs. Another landmark publication, Wray Vamplew's *Pay up and Play the Game*, provided the first economic analysis of commercialised spectator sport during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. Vamplew challenged assumptions that commercialism, professionalism and hooliganism are modern developments and criticised 'trained historians' for allowing such myths to be perpetuated.⁷² However, he did argue that societal change wrought by industrial capitalism gave birth to a fully commercialised and professionalised sport that was 'an industry in its own right'.⁷³ That industry spread around the globe and, as Philip Dine noted, we should be aware that sport has both a localised micro-culture and wider regional, national and international culture.⁷⁴ The mix of local, regional, national and international will become very evident in this thesis. Sport often mirrors society in its development and the emergence of a fledgling sport

⁷² Wray Vamplew, *Pay up and play the game, professional sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.3-4.

⁷³ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.54.

⁷⁴ Philip Dine, *French Rugby Football* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p.7.

industry in Bradford, which had both local and international elements, supports Vamplew's arguments.

In this thesis cricket is examined mainly via the local leagues. Jeffrey Hill claimed that 'virtually nothing has been written on league cricket'.⁷⁵ In 2002 Rob Light echoed that criticism stating that league cricket had been 'largely ignored ... in the growing body of academic work on sport history'.⁷⁶ Even Derek Birley's outstanding *A Social History of English Cricket* gives leagues only brief attention.⁷⁷ However, more work is beginning to emerge. Peter Davies, Andrew Hignell, Robert Light, Brian Heywood and Jack Williams have subsequently examined the growth of the leagues.⁷⁸ As many of the leagues have been in operation for over a century in many cases, numerous non-academic league histories have begun to appear and they can offer useful

⁷⁵ Jeffery Hill, 'League Cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940', Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working class in Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 121-2.

⁷⁶ Robert Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket, the origins of league cricket in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (MA thesis, De Montfort University, 2002), p.4; Roy Genders, *League Cricket in England* (Werner Laurie, 1952), pp11-12; Duncan Stone, 'Cricket's regional identities: the development of cricket and identity in Yorkshire and Surrey', *Sport in Society*, Vol. 11, No. 5, September 2008, p.505. Stone briefly touched on leagues.

⁷⁷ Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket* (Arum, 1999).

⁷⁸ Peter Davies and Robert Light, *Cricket and Community in England, 1800 to the present day* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Brian Heywood, 'Ashes cricketers and the Lancashire League', *Sport in Society*, volume 15, issue 8, (2012); Andrew Hignell, 'Participants and Providers: A micro-scale analysis of cricket in Cardiff during the nineteenth-century', *Sport in Society*, Vol.15, No.2, March 2012; Robert Light, *Cricket's Forgotten Past: a social and cultural history of the game in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1820-1870* (PhD. thesis, De Montfort University, 2008); Jack Williams, *Cricket and England, a cultural and social history of the inter-war years* (Frank Cass, 1999).

comparisons.⁷⁹ This thesis attempts to take advantage of all those sources as it seeks to expand both the historiography of league cricket and draw comparisons with league developments in football and rugby.

The story of how rugby became the popular winter sport of choice in Bradford is a central part of this thesis. Its development from a game dominated by former public school boys into one that enjoyed popular support and embraced aspects of commercialism and professionalism partly reflected societal changes. The invention of amateurism and the appropriation of sports such as rowing, athletics and rugby by the growing middle classes has a rich historiography. Although Cunningham noted that in the cases of rowing and athletics such an exclusion was never totally successful, the 1866 edict barring not only those who profited from athletics, but also mechanics, artisans and labourers, set the scene for the iconic split of rugby during 1895.

⁸⁰ Bailey noted that it was usually new governing bodies, such as the Amateur Athletic Club, Amateur Rowing Association and the Bicycle Union, all of course dominated by middle class officials, who enforced the tenets of

⁷⁹ *Airedale & Wharfedale Senior Cricket League, golden jubilee brochure* (Otley: Smith Settle, 1986); Alex E. David, *First in the Field, a history of the Birmingham & District Cricket League* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1988); John Kay, *Cricket in the Leagues* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970); Alan West, *One Hundred Years of the Ribblesdale Cricket League* (Preston: Carden Press, 1992); Geoff Wilkinson, ed., *A Century of Bradford League Cricket, 1903-2003* (Bradford: Bradford Cricket League, 2003).

⁸⁰ Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, pp.134-5.

amateurism.⁸¹ However, one of those bodies, the Football Association, did display a pragmatic approach to professionalism following the threat of a split from largely northern clubs during 1885. As a direct consequence Bailey claimed that ‘in general’ the middle classes withdrew from the game.⁸² It has been argued that as a result rugby became a kind of last bastion of middle class amateurism in popular team sport. The standard work on this period of rugby’s history is Tony Collins *Rugby’s Great Split*.⁸³ That work examines how class tensions in late Victorian Britain caused a rupture in rugby that resulted in the creation of the game known today as rugby league. Collins deals with the invention of amateurism as a reaction to growing commercialism and professionalism in a game that, similarly to football, was being transformed by working-class involvement.

It will be argued that amateurism was largely an external influence on Bradford. This may have been aided by the fact that elements of Bradford’s Anglican middle class often purchased properties some distance from the city thus arguably easing class tension within Bradford and thereby defusing, what Russell described as, ‘the defence of social space and status’ that was the

⁸¹ Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p.131.

⁸² Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p.143.

⁸³ Tony Collins, *Rugby’s Great Split: class culture and the origins of Rugby League Football* (Frank Cass, 1998).

backdrop to much opposition to professionalism.⁸⁴ In a city such as Bradford, where Russell suggested that the gap between the middle and working classes was not so great, and where the upper classes were virtually absent, it could be argued that, in the main, the influence of class came from without rather than from within.⁸⁵ Pragmatism, arguably shaped by the forces of industrial capitalism, ensured that, the fairly insignificant post-1895 Rugby Union rump aside, there was little class-segregated sport within the city. As Collins noted by the 1880s 'working-class players and supporters had come to dominate (numerically if not politically) many of the sports valued by the middle-classes'.⁸⁶

Despite the absence of class-segregated sport in Bradford and its stable mate amateurism, the use of sporting leadership to define and reinforce the place of men like the president of Bradford FC, Harry Briggs, in local society should not be overlooked. Indeed, Stepney argued that Briggs's position as president of a high profile sporting organisation reflected his role as a major local employer.⁸⁷ For working-class spectators rugby and football offered a parallel

⁸⁴ Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', Dave Russell, ed., *Sport in Manchester, Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 20 (Manchester: 2009), p.17.

⁸⁵ Russell, 'Provincial Concerts', p.44.

⁸⁶ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.53.

⁸⁷ Paul Stepney, 'Towards a Politics of Football, the case of Bradford Park Avenue', Alan Tomlinson, ed., *Explorations in Football Culture* (Brighton: Brighton Polytechnic, 1983), p. 116-17.

with the factory system with the players working together to attain a collective goal. It will be argued that this was reflected in Bradford and that it was commercial imperatives that had the greater impact on events in Bradford as opposed to class. Bradford's growing working and lower middle class influenced developments such as the introduction of cups, league structures and investment in expensive spectator facilities.

Huw Richards also recognised 1895 as the most important date in the history of rugby. He pointed out the profound impact the split had on the Home Nations Championship.⁸⁸ Without the loss of the majority of playing talent from Yorkshire and Lancashire, England would have dominated the competition. Richards claimed that, as a result, the competition became unpredictable and highly competitive, elements that helped it become a central part of Britain's sporting calendar. Perhaps less critical than Collins of the stance taken by the rugby authorities during the great split is Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard's *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*. In particular they are critical of the hiring out of grounds by Northern Union clubs to infant football teams as 'more interested in profit and/or social control than the game itself'.⁸⁹ That conclusion will be challenged in this thesis as being

⁸⁸ Huw Richards, *A Game for Hooligans, the history of Rugby Union* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2006), pp.79-80.

⁸⁹ Eric Dunning, Eric and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (Routledge, 2005), p.219.

simplistic and failing to recognise the multi-sport nature of several of the clubs in question.

iii Themes

Several themes underpin this thesis. The First, and overarching theme, is the change of working-class leisure from a so-called pre-modern sporting culture towards more rationalised forms of sport that reflected the values and imperatives of an urban industrial capitalist society. Secondly, the role of the publican as an entrepreneur of entertainment in the period immediately before codified spectator sport began to dominate commercial sporting leisure. Thirdly, the emergence of rugby clubs as an expression of communal identity and the commercial pressures that success in the sport exerted upon the regional and national leadership of the game. Finally, the usurping of rugby by football that partly represented the emergence of nationalising society.

Lancashire has frequently been presented as being at the forefront of developments that led towards a commercialised, working-class culture that was shaped by nationalising forces. In his over view of Manchester's sporting history from c.1800 Russell noted rapid population growth, increasingly defined periods of leisure time and a rise in wages as being 'staples of any

account of the growth of working-class leisure'. He stated that the early adoption of the Saturday half-holiday, and high levels of female employment, were critical factors in Lancashire's leading role 'within the national commercial leisure economy'.⁹⁰ While it is widely acknowledged that Lancashire workers do appear to have been among the first to reap the leisure benefits, it will be contended that developments in Bradford were almost identical and chronologically were not far removed from their Lancashire compatriots. As will be returned to on several occasions in this thesis, the parallels between developments in Lancashire and West Yorkshire are an under researched area as historians have tended restrict their horizons to county, or sporting, boundaries. Because rugby became the winter game of choice in West Yorkshire between the 1870s and 1900s does not equate to a separate sporting culture with the Pennine hills as an impenetrable barrier to a flow of ideas and trends. West Yorkshire and Lancashire were joined by a road network, canals and probably most crucially railways. Even after West Yorkshire embraced rugby, attitudes towards commercialism and professionalism were remarkably similar to those adopted by the football pioneers of Lancashire.

⁹⁰ Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', Dave Russell, ed., *Sport in Manchester, Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 20 (Manchester: 2009), p.1.

Another piece of evidence that illustrates the linkages between Lancashire and Yorkshire was the fact that the Quarry Gap pub in Bradford was part of a trans-Pennine pedestrianism network of venues and competitors. This thesis aims to build on the pioneering work of Dave Day and Samantha Jayne Oldfield in researching the often overlooked world of pedestrianism.⁹¹ Indeed, the place of the pub as a centre for quite large-scale sporting events prior to the development of enclosed sporting grounds for codified team sports is an important stepping stone towards a recognisably modern commercialised sporting landscape. By the 1880s sport was capable of emptying the pub and in Bradford it was rugby that began to evolve into a commercialised and highly popular spectator sport. The popularity of rugby helps reflect the changing nature of class-consciousness in Bradford. The early dominance of Bradford's leading cricket and rugby clubs by the urban elite is noted. As is their slow withdrawal as clubs were challenged by, and recognised, the opportunities offered by commercialism.

The widespread adoption of rugby as the dominant winter sport in West Yorkshire was, in part, driven by a desire to participate in the Yorkshire Cup competition. It greatly aided the evolution of clubs that became vehicles for

⁹¹ Dave Day, ed., *Pedestrianism* (Crewe: MMU Sport and Leisure History, 2014); Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, 'George Martin, wizard of pedestrianism and Manchester's sporting entrepreneur', Dave Day, ed., *Sporting Lives* (Crewe: MMU Institute for Performance Research, 2011); Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, 'The Manchester Milers 1850-1870', Dave Day ed., *Pedestrianism* (Crewe: MMU Sport and Leisure History, 2014); Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester', *Sport in History*, Vol.34, No.2, (2014).

the creation of an urban, and civic, identity in relatively new communities. Sport was an important player in establishing a sense of place. Hobsbawm, writing of national identity, stated 'the imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven people'.⁹² Russell argued that the same was equally true of sport and the region.⁹³ This thesis distils those theories even further to the city and neighbourhood and argues that the deeper into society identities are ingrained, the more powerful they appear to be. For example, while the city of Bradford was clearly an integral part of the urban and industrial north of England, Russell argued that where there is a sense of northern identity it was 'extremely fragile and generally secondary to other systems of identification'.⁹⁴ That is apparent in Bradford where the inter-town rivalry between Bradford and Manningham overrode any civic, county or regional identity. As this thesis has sought to illustrate sport played a role in creating and supporting identities that were highly localised.

The fact that many of those identities and subsequent loyalties to a sporting club, survived not only a change of sports but also the following century, is remarkable indeed. In part this must represent the stabilisation of urban life and the nationalising process that widened, although Joyce concluded not

⁹² Eric Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.143.

⁹³ Dave Russell, *Looking North, Northern England and the national imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p.236.

⁹⁴ Russell, *Looking North*, p.273.

always deepened the horizons of the working classes.⁹⁵ Perhaps Waller's, somewhat cynical, argument that despite the hopes of those who espoused rational recreation and social control, football expressed 'the working man's imperviousness, deaf equally to appeals of Victorian respectability and Labour reformism, in his pursuit of a good time' is closest to explaining what attracted thousands of working men to watch team sports.⁹⁶ As Joyce noted the sports stadium 'triumphed over the mechanics' institute and the temperance society'.⁹⁷

As the twentieth century dawned football began to undermine rugby as Bradford's winter sport of choice. It can be argued that this was part of a nationalising process, as one important element was the role of schools and school teachers in spreading the game. Kerrigan noted similar developments across the country which is replicated in Bradford.⁹⁸ Whether the spread of football into the rugby heartlands of West Yorkshire was a deliberate policy of the Football League will be debated in the context of Bradford City's election to the Football League in 1903 and Bradford (Park Avenue)'s switch from the Northern Union to football in 1907. Taylor argued that it was more likely that

⁹⁵ Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics*, p.338.

⁹⁶ P. J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation, England 1850-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), p.103.

⁹⁷ Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics*, p.286.

⁹⁸ Kolm Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football, schoolboy association football in England, 1885-1915* (Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005).

the Football League was attracted to West Yorkshire not by a desire to undermine rugby, but by the substantial populations of Bradford and Leeds which could generate large gate receipts.⁹⁹ In little more than a decade professional football comprehensively replaced rugby in West Yorkshire. The similarity of the 'football' culture in Bradford was such that the changes of code from rugby to football in 1903 and 1907 were relatively seamless. The sporting landscape which Bradford's new football clubs found themselves operating in would have been instantly recognisable to the hierarchy who remained more or less in place following the switch from the oval to the round ball game. The rapidity of sporting developments within Bradford throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and the relatively settled century that followed, arguably reflects the growing pains of an expanding industrial city.

iv Sources

This thesis utilises primary and secondary sources. None of Bradford's main sporting clubs hold archival material from the pre-Great War era. Limited information about the Bradford clubs has been gleaned from the archives of the Football League, Rugby League and Rugby Union. Therefore, by necessity, the thesis is heavily reliant on contemporary newspaper reports. Aside from

⁹⁹ Taylor, *The Leaguers*, pp.22-5.

newspapers published in Bradford, publications both regional and national have been utilised. As Jeffrey Hill noted, due to a lack of primary sources, newspapers ‘have become a staple – perhaps *the* staple – source in the task of reconstructing the history of sport and games’.¹⁰⁰ Matt Taylor concurred noting ‘there often seems to be nowhere to look except the press’.¹⁰¹ Peter Beck argued that rather than rely solely on the press, sport historians should consider the national archives and other institutions to broaden their work.¹⁰² Hill cautioned that it was important to remember that there was a ‘mutuality of interest’ between local newspapers and sporting clubs.¹⁰³ Although local bias and under-reporting has to be taken into account, the incredible detail of, for example, club AGMs are a valuable source given the scarcity of alternative sources. Fortunately, as three Bradford newspapers often reported on the same meetings it gives an air of relative certainty as regards the events being reported. The main daily newspapers of Bradford were the liberal *Bradford Observer* (1834-1956), the largely politically neutral *Bradford Daily Telegraph* (1868-1926) and finally the conservative leaning *Bradford Daily Argus* (1892-1925). In 1926 the *Telegraph & Argus* was formed after a merger between the city’s two main publications. The *Bradford Daily Argus* and *Bradford Daily*

¹⁰⁰ Jeffrey Hill, ‘Anecdotal Evidence, Sport, the Newspaper Press and History’, Murray G. Phillips, ed., *Deconstructing Sport History: A postmodern analysis* (Albany: Suny, 2006), p.118.

¹⁰¹ Matthew Taylor, ‘Football Archives and the Historian’, *Business Archive*, 78, 1999, p.1.

¹⁰² Peter J. Beck, *Scoring for Britain: International football and international politics 1900-1939* (Cass, 1999), vii.

¹⁰³ Hill, ‘Anecdotal Evidence’, p.121.

Telegraph introduced football specials in the 1890s. The survival of those editions is sporadic. From 1901 the Saturday evening *Yorkshire Sports* was produced. The newspaper has yet to be digitised and bound copies at Bradford Central Library are now not available for public viewing due to their poor condition.

Bradford's newspapers are reflective of national trends in that they devote increasing column inches to sport throughout the 1870s and 1880s, through to the eventual launch of football special editions during the 1890s. Trends such as advances in printing technology, adoption of an enhanced commercial approach and increased levels of literacy are also in evidence.¹⁰⁴ From the 1880s it has been argued that there was a shift towards lighter reading in newspapers and that sport played a central role in that trend.¹⁰⁵ It has been suggested by Mason that the press became an indivisible part of the sporting culture.¹⁰⁶ The increased column inches devoted to sports coverage, and the production of a Saturday evening sports newspaper, suggests that developments in Bradford support Mason's claim.

¹⁰⁴ Martin Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture* (Sage, 2004); Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2004); Joel H. Wiener, ed., *Papers for the Millions, the new journalism in Britain, 1850s-1914* (New York: Greenwood, 1988).

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Hobbs, *Reading the Local Paper, social and cultural functions of the local press in Preston, Lancashire, 1855-1900* (PhD thesis, University of Central Lancashire, 2010), p.141.

¹⁰⁶ Tony Mason, 'All the Winners and the Half-Times', *The Sports Historian*, 13, (May 1993), p. 12.

v Structure of the Thesis

The term sporting leisure has been used in order to attempt to narrow the field of leisure as it can encompass a huge range of activities as diverse as attending a classical concert, a conversation around a pub table, a game of marbles or a professional football match. Sporting leisure itself is then focused on popular spectator sports and in particular those that can be argued as being part of the emergence of a commercialised and professionalised culture that facilitated the modern sporting landscape of Bradford: in simple terms, two professional football clubs, a professional rugby league club and a semi-professional cricket league. Evidently, other sports did attract large crowds of spectators during Bradford's modern sporting history: boxing, greyhound racing and speedway being notable examples. However, none proved to be as durable as cricket, football and rugby and as those sports have both a direct lineage with the earliest sporting developments in Bradford it does seem appropriate to use those sports as the backbone of this thesis. Those sports have often, mainly because of their sheer popularity, been used as vehicles for civic identity and pride. Therefore they have become part of the fabric of Bradfordian identity and are now indivisible parts of the city's heritage and history. It must be admitted that this culture is largely a male one and one of spectating as opposed to participation. That is not something that was confined to Bradford of course. Beaven and Davies noted a similar primacy of

working-class male leisure in Coventry, Manchester and Salford.¹⁰⁷ It is not the intention of this thesis to become embroiled in gender politics or indeed debates between participation and spectatorship. The fact that thousands of people chose to watch sport, and that those sports became important to a wider civic identity, is arguably reason enough to restrict this thesis to the popular spectator sports.

In this thesis the date range has been restricted to the period 1836 to 1908 because 1836 is the year of the formation of Bradford Cricket Club. The club was Bradford's first codified sporting organisation and became the town's first civic flag carriers in the sporting arena. Although their influence fades before the end of the Victorian period, the cricket club was an integral part of developments at the Park Avenue grounds and therefore they are intimately involved with later developments that led to the emergence of Bradford (Park Avenue) Association Football Club and Bradford Northern Rugby League Football Club.

The 1836 commencement date also allows the examination of sport and the public house. That relationship was a crucial one in the era when the Saturday half-holiday began to establish itself. It laid the building blocks that would

¹⁰⁷ Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, pp.5-6; A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty. Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1992), p.2.

eventually develop in to commercialised spectator sport held in enclosed grounds in an urban setting. This, what could be termed, prehistory is often overlooked by historians of professional cricket, football and rugby clubs. This can lead to assumptions that there was a kind of year zero when the existing professional clubs suddenly appear as if from some primordial swamp. It is important to illustrate the continuities in sport that spanned the supposed pre-modern and modern periods. This thesis will hopefully add more cases studies to reinforce the reappraisal of sporting history that arguably began with the rebuffing of the leisure vacuum theory. This thesis ends in 1908 as by that date Bradford City AFC, Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC, Bradford Northern Rugby League Club and the Bradford Cricket League, had been formed and a recognisably modern sporting landscape had appeared. Taking the thesis to the usual cut off point of 1914, and the outbreak of the Great War, was considered. This would have allowed the thesis to cover the promotion of both Bradford City and Bradford (Park Avenue) to the first division of the Football League and Bradford City's FA Cup victory in 1911. However, it was rejected on the grounds that, although they were highly significant achievements, they did not fundamentally alter the shape that popular spectator sport was taking in the city. Undoubtedly, those events will have strengthened the hold football in particular had on the sporting interests of the people of Bradford. However, the die was effectively cast by 1908.

Most of the chapters of the thesis open with an overview of the prevailing economic, political and social situation in Bradford. Hopefully that will help place the sporting developments into their wider context. The first chapter charts the rise of the factory system and regularisation of working hours and the impact it had on traditional sports. Chapter two follows the emergence of Bradford Cricket Club, who became essentially the town's civic representative on the sporting field. Chapter three examines evidence of informal football in Bradford and joins the academic debate regarding football's origins. The establishment of Rugby Union's Yorkshire Cup competition will be presented as the bridge between pre-modern and modern sport. The parallel establishment of sporting goods manufacturers and collectors cards within Bradford will be used to illustrate the commercialisation of the game via the consumption of sporting memorabilia. The fourth chapter examines the emergence of leagues, in rugby and cricket, and the establishment of a seasonal structure and rhythm that remains in place to this day. Retelling the story of Manningham FC's New Zealand player George Stephenson brings out an emerging international aspect of sport. As a result Manningham's matches were regularly reported in New Zealand's newspapers. To illustrate how far the game had progressed, Manningham's trip to play in Paris is retold. Chapter five considers how football ultimately overtook rugby in an area previously dominated by the oval ball code for two decades. The adoption of football by Manningham, who became Bradford City AFC in

1903, will be shown to be both about the city of Bradford being represented on a national sporting stage and the result of a highly localised rivalry with Bradford FC. The final chapter, six, will examine the failure of a proposed merger between Bradford FC and Bradford City AFC in 1907. That rejection resulted in the formation of Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC and Bradford Northern Union FC. It set the modern sporting landscape of the city that remains in place to this day. Bradford (Park Avenue)'s single season in the Southern League will be used to illustrate tensions regarding whether the Football League was a truly national league.

Chapter One

Pre-Modern Sporting Leisure in Victorian Bradford, c.1750-1868

This chapter begins with an overview of Bradford's economic and social developments during the period covered by the chapter. Bradford's rapid population growth, improved transport links and emergence as a commercial centre on a national and international scale are plotted in order to place the sporting developments within their wider context. The chapter describes the stage of development sporting leisure had arrived at in the years leading up to the emergence of the codified sports of cricket, rugby and association football. It seeks to demonstrate a significant overlap of the supposedly pre-modern and modern sports. The leisure vacuum theory will be considered via the prism of events in Bradford which will seek to allow an understanding of the sporting landscape prior to, and after, the 1850s and 1860s. This will help illustrate that the rise of the codified sports was not a sudden sporting revolution, but was part of a much more gradual process. This is critical in placing the modern sporting landscape into its historical context. This chapter mainly overlaps the latter two periods of Russell's three-stage model of development of sport in Bradford. As stated in the introduction Russell defined the periods as: 1800 to 1830; 1830 to 1850; 1850 to 1900.¹

¹ Russell, 'The Pursuit of Leisure', p.199.

The theory that the public house was an unofficial centre for working class sporting events, discussions and meetings from at least the 1850s is well established.² However, the process by which some of the large scale and heavily attended events migrated into, or rather alongside, public houses was far from a natural evolution. Mason noted that the Highways Act of 1835 specifically prohibited the playing of football on the highway.³ Harvey viewed the Inclosure Act of 1846 as an important stage of the process.⁴ Storch claims to have uncovered instances in the West Riding of Yorkshire where police and magistrates 'made strenuous and relatively successful' efforts to drive 'traditional' sports away from the open countryside and streets.⁵ Bailey describes a similar pattern in Bolton.⁶ These sports, including *ad hoc* horse racing, knur and spell and pedestrianism, did not wither despite the official pressure but instead were embraced by publicans, many of whom, of course,

² Jennings, *The Public House in Bradford*, pp.57-59; pp.203-206; Paul Jennings, *The Local, a history of the English pub* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007), pp.126-128; Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (Hambledon & London, 2004), p.195.

³ Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Brighton: Harvester, 1980), p. 9.

⁴ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.90.

⁵ Robert Storch, 'Introduction: Persistence and Change in Nineteenth-Century Popular Culture', Robert Storch, ed., *Popular Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Croom Helm, 1982).

⁶ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England, rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885* (Routledge, 1978, reprint 2007), pp.83-84.

had a vested interest in the survival of some traditional sports.⁷ By the 1860s, they had created 'new commercialised sporting grounds'.⁸ Storch argues:

A distinctly new, specifically nineteenth-century, urban recreational nexus – more formalised, less *ad hoc*, highly commercialised – which helped to preserve and shelter an older popular sporting culture within a new setting.⁹

Collins, Vamplew and Oldfield claimed that publicans were among the forerunners of the commercialisation of sporting leisure in the Victorian city.¹⁰ Russell said that, in particular, they were central to the development of athletics meetings.¹¹ Both of those theories will be tested against events staged by a publican at the Quarry Gap public house in east Bradford during the 1860s.

⁷ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.46.

⁸ Robert Storch, 'Introduction: Persistence and Change in Nineteenth-Century Popular Culture', Robert Storch, ed., *Popular Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Croom Helm, 1982), p.10; Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.169.

⁹ Storch, Introduction: Persistence and Change, p.10

¹⁰ Tony Collins & Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers, a cultural history of sport and alcohol* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp.1-12; Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester', *Sport in History*, Vol.34, No.2, (2014), p.238.

¹¹ Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', *Manchester Region History Review*, 20, (2009), p.4.

Trade based cricket matches are presented as evidence of the emergence of the Saturday half-holiday. The focus is then placed on two specific sports, knur and spell and pedestrianism, which appear to modern eyes to be strongly linked to marginality and pre-modernism. Yet in the case of knur and spell, it continued to thrive well after the football codes had been established. Evidently, football was part of pre-modern sporting leisure in Bradford. However, the game and its variants will be debated in chapter three alongside the emergence of Bradford Football Club.

i Bradford's Industrial Revolution

Between 1801 and 1851 the population of Bradford expanded from 8,525 to 103,778, an increase of 1,170%. By contrast, the general population of England and Wales grew from nine million in 1801 to twenty-one million in 1851, an increase of 130%. Thus the growth of Bradford was more than ten times the national average.¹² As the following table illustrates, even among the industrial towns of northern England, where population growth was largely concentrated, Bradford's increase is more than double its contemporaries.

Table 1.1 Percentage Population Growth in Northern England 1801 to 1851

¹² Gary Frith, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution, an economic history, 1760-1840* (Halifax: Ryburn, 1990), p.47.

	1801	1851	Increase
Bradford	8,525	103,778	1,170%
Salford	13,611	85,108	525%
Preston	11,887	69,542	485%
Manchester	70,409	316,213	349%
Burnley	3,305	14,706	344%
Oldham	12,024	52,820	332%
Huddersfield	7,268	30,880	324%
Leeds	53,162	172,023	223%
Wigan	10,989	31,941	190%
Wakefield	8,131	16,989	108%

A little caution must be introduced as boundary changes and different rates of industrial development have to be taken into account. Nevertheless, Bradford's population growth was at least twice that of its counterparts.¹³ What attracted people in such large numbers to what was, at the start of the nineteenth century, a market town situated in a dead end valley and relatively remote from the main transport links? Small-scale coalmining, farming and handloom weaving have taken place in Bradford since at least the thirteenth century.¹⁴ Arguably, it was the exploitation of coal and ironstone that lay in

¹³ Edward Baines & William Parson, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, Vol.I, Vol.II (Liverpool: Wales, 1825); Edward Baines & John Harland, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster* (Routledge, 1868), pp.263-4, p.544.; *Barrett's Directory of Burnley, 1893* (Preston: Barrett, 1896); R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party, the making of the British middle class: Leeds, 1820-50* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); W. Page, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, a history of the County of York*, Vol.III (1913), p.10.

¹⁴ David James, *Bradford* (Halifax: Ryburn, 1990), pp.15-20; Joseph Fieldhouse, *Bradford* (Bradford: Watmoughs & Bradford Council, revised edition, 1978), p.79.

easily accessible seams forty yards beneath the surface, which facilitated Bradford's industrial expansion.¹⁵ The main market for Bradford coal was the Craven district of Yorkshire and in particular the town of Skipton. The exchange of coal for Craven limestone aided the development of chemical and iron industries in Bradford and placed tremendous strain on the road network. For example, 46,880 loads of coal travelled from Bradford to Skipton during 1768. Although Bradford was by the mid-eighteenth century well connected to the turnpike road network, an alternative means of transportation became an economic and practical necessity.¹⁶

A canal, the main arterial routes for heavy goods before the coming of the railways, was proposed with its promoters claiming that they could deliver coal at one-eighth of that charged by road hauliers and half the cost of carrying limestone. Although initially the canal's *raison d'être* was the localised exchange of coal and limestone, the promoters saw the merits of linking the canal to the Aire & Calder Navigation at Leeds, and thence to Hull and the continent. In the opposite direction the Aire Gap offered the opportunity of linking the canal with Liverpool and the Atlantic trade. Firth convincingly claimed that the origins of the Leeds & Liverpool canal 'lay in

¹⁵ Fieldhouse, *Bradford*, p.79.

¹⁶ Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, p.76. In 1750 there were links to Halifax, Harrogate, Keighley, Leeds and Wakefield. Daily coaches also took travellers to Hull, Liverpool, London and Manchester. By 1825 fourteen coaches shuttled daily between Bradford and Leeds, carrying up to 200 people.

the needs of the Bradford colliery owners to cut costs and find better markets for their coal, iron and limestone'.¹⁷ The importance of that trade is illustrated by the fact that the first significant section of the Leeds & Liverpool canal to open was between Bradford and Skipton in 1774.¹⁸ The coal and limestone traffic accounted for 40.7% of the canal's income in 1792 and 50.2% in 1820. Given those figures it is perhaps unsurprising that until 1850 the headquarters of the Leeds & Liverpool Canal Company was in Bradford.¹⁹

The canal was an effective conveyor of heavy bulky raw materials and its opening facilitated the expansion of several industries. The canal exported castings from the Bowling and Low Moor ironworks, flagstones from many quarries, most notably at Bolton Woods, and vitriol from chemical works on Valley Road. The ironworks produced a huge range of products: fire grates for domestic use, machinery for textile mills and cannons that saw action at Trafalgar, Waterloo and the Crimea. The quarries situated in the hills around Bradford sold over 450,000 tons of stone during the 1870s. It was used in numerous high profile buildings including Liverpool's Custom House and

¹⁷ Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, p.78; John Allison, 'The Bradford Canal, a brief history', *The Bradford Antiquary*, third series, number 9, 2005, p.35; Gary Firth, *The Leeds & Liverpool Canal in Yorkshire* (Stroud: Tempus, 1999), p.9.

¹⁸ Fieldhouse, *Bradford*, pp.70-2; Milton Hudson, *The Bradford Canal* (Shipley: Windhill Memories Group, 1996), p.2. The first section between Bingley and Skipton opened on 8 April 1773. It was another four years before it reached Leeds and completion of the canal in its entirety took until 1820.

¹⁹ Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, pp.80-6.

Manchester Town Hall.²⁰ In the latter case Spinkwell stone from north of Bradford was chosen by the architect and Manchester's city surveyor as stone likely to be the most durable in the city's polluted atmosphere.²¹ Bradford was growing into a regional, national and international trading centre. A useful example of Bradford's industrial reach was the development, and financing, of the Lancashire coalfield by a caucus of Bradford and Liverpool businessmen. The evidence supports Firth's conclusion that 'coal began Bradford's industrial revolution not wool'.²²

However, it would be the textile trade that would dominate and define Bradford. Firth argued against the theory that the combination of wool, water, coal and ironstone were the crucial factors that allowed Bradford to supersede Norwich as the centre of worsted production. He cited the opening of new markets in Iberia, Italy, North America and West Indies by West Riding merchants as evidence of an entrepreneurial spirit.²³ That brought with it a willingness to 'experiment in new fibres'. The use of cotton warps and Titus

²⁰ Fieldhouse, *Bradford*, pp.84-8.

²¹ Catherine Bowler & Peter Brimblecombe, 'Environmental Pressures on Building Design and Manchester's John Rylands Library', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 13, No.3, 2000, p.181; Clare Hartwell, *Manchester, Pevsner architectural guides* (Yale University Press, 2001), p.74. Hartwell incorrectly states that the Spinkwell stone was from Derbyshire.

²² Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, pp.89-91.

²³ Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, pp.141-2.

Salt's adoption of alpaca fleeces were notable examples of this.²⁴ However, James believed that the theory was not convincing in light of evidence of manufacturing experiments in both Norfolk and the West Country. Though James conceded that the debate continues, he argued that three factors were central to Bradford's rise to pre-eminence. Firstly, Bradford's typical wool and worsted products suited the market as they were serviceable cloths and were sold cheaply and in bulk. Secondly, the marketing of the finished material by local merchants, who specialised in the product and actively sought new markets, was an important contrast to the Norfolk and West Country cloth, which was handled by London merchants for whom wool was one of many products. Thirdly, Bradford's proximity to other industrial towns made the textile trade responsive and receptive to change and technical innovation.²⁵

The growth of the staple textile trade is illustrated by the fact that in 1801 there was a solitary mill in the town, forty years later there were sixty-seven. Similarly in 1815 there were only two stuff merchants, by 1893 there were 252.²⁶ The employment figures are revealing. In 1835, when some weaving and combing was still undertaken in the home, 6,022 people were employed in the mills. Due to mechanisation and centralisation by 1850 that figure had

²⁴ Gary Firth, 'The Bradford Trade in the Nineteenth Century', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowett eds., *Victorian Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1982), pp.15-16.

²⁵ James, *Bradford*, pp.25-7.

²⁶ Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, p.140. 'Stuff' was used as a generic term for woven fabrics.

risen to 33,515. Production underwent a similarly dramatic expansion. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and development of trade with South America increased Bradford's worsted production.²⁷ By 1850 thirteen times more wool was being devoured by the mills than in 1810.²⁸ The population increased by 65.5% between 1821 and 1831 and then accelerated from 34,560 to 103,778 in the ten years 1841 to 1851.²⁹

The rapid expansion of the worsted trade placed a huge strain on Bradford's transport links. The canal was unable to accommodate the output with the result that much of the piece trade (fabrics sold in standard lengths) was transported by road to Leeds. By 1830 such was the volume of traffic it proved impossible to maintain the surface of the turnpike.³⁰ The economic imperative of a railway connection became irresistible. It was anticipated that a railway would significantly lower transportation costs. It was claimed that it cost as much to transport wool by road from Bradford to Leeds (roughly nine miles) as it did to take it by rail from Leeds to Hull (fifty-eight miles).³¹ A parliamentary committee was formed to consider various railway schemes in the West Riding. Giving evidence James Haigh, a Bradford stonemason, stated

²⁷ Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, p.161.

²⁸ Margaret Law, *The Story of Bradford* (Bradford: Pitman, 1913), p.191.

²⁹ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p.86.

³⁰ Fieldhouse, *Bradford*, p.131.

³¹ Peter E. Baughan, *The Midland Railway, north of Leeds* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1966), p.57.

that large quantities of stone were sent by canal to the port of Goole. He estimated that transportation by rail would result in a 50% saving. Henry Hartop, the manager of Bowling Iron Works, said that Bierley, Bowling and Low Moor iron works consumed 33,000 tons of limestone annually. He thought that an unbroken railway connection had the potential to reduce transportation costs by 2,500% per annum.³² On 30 May 1846 the Leeds & Bradford railway line opened. It was followed in 1850 by a line from Halifax and the so-called 'short-line' from Leeds in 1852.³³ Now linked by canal, rail and road, Bradford's entrepreneurs took full advantage, with increased production right across the industrial base. In essence this completed the opening phase of Bradford's industrial expansion. The impact of those developments on popular leisure is considered in the remainder of this chapter.

ii The Supposed Leisure Vacuum

In the period between 1780 and 1840 it has been assumed that working hours for the lower orders were so long and arduous that opportunities for leisure were almost non-existent. As Cunningham commented, the writings of historians prior to 1980 (examples being Malcolmson and Morris) led him to

³² *Bradford Observer*, 8 May 1845.

³³ James, *Bradford*, p103.

expect that the period would be one of gloom during which the combined forces of evangelicalism, industrialisation and urbanisation would bear down on the pre-industrial recreations of the people and cause a leisure vacuum.³⁴

Writing in 1979 Morris claimed:

Only chapel and public house filled the gloomy gap between bear baiting and the maypole on one hand and association football and the music hall on the other.³⁵

From the 1980s historians began to probe the leisure vacuum theory. Holt, Tranter and Walvin were among those raising doubts as to the validity of a leisure vacuum.³⁶ Walvin argued (quoting examples of vibrant sporting cultures in Birmingham, Manchester and Sheffield), that the leisure vacuum claims were advanced as part of a wider political stance and so 'were inevitably exaggerated, partial and sometimes unrepresentative'.³⁷

Commentators blamed the social, economic and environmental changes as

³⁴ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (Croom Helm, 1980), p.9; Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 1973), p.170.

³⁵ R.J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850* (MacMillan, 1979), p.53.

³⁶ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British, a modern history* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p.349; Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.6-7.

³⁷ James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (Longman, 1978), pp.2-3. The wider political stance would lead to the Factory Acts, Saturday half-holiday (supported by Sabbatarians to protect the sanctity of Sunday) and the ethos of rational recreation.

being responsible for the paucity of recreational leisure. Writing about Bradford in the first half of the nineteenth century Scruton initially appears to give credence to the vacuum theory:

The educational and mental advancement of the labouring classes were almost wholly neglected – indeed the long hours of toil left little time for either the cultivation of the mind or the recreation of the body.³⁸

His statement about ‘recreation of the body’ is a likely indicator of support for the fit body, fit mind mantra that was central to the emergence of muscular Christianity as a doctrine of social improvement and control. This moral view of working class leisure was shaped by evangelical religion and may have also been an attempt by the middle classes to define themselves. By portraying the urban poor as ‘feckless and atheistic’, and indeed the aristocracy as ‘dissolute and irresponsible’, the middle class were able to differentiate themselves morally and politically.³⁹ Quite clearly Scruton was fully aware of ‘disreputable’ activities spanning a century. He commented on the fact that in 1756 John Wesley preached at a building known as the old cock pit, ‘the gathering-place of disreputable gamblers and black-legs, who revelled in such brutal practices as cock-fighting and bull-baiting’. Indeed,

³⁸ Scruton, *Pen and Pencil*, pp.21-2.

³⁹ Gunn, *Public Culture*, p.15.

during the same year as Wesley's visit local landowner John Stanhope and the Rt. Hon. Viscount Down supplied birds for Ann Atkinson's cock-pit in Bradford for three days of fighting. In 1759 thirty-two 'gentlemen' brought their birds to Bradford.⁴⁰ Clearly, these were men of social standing, but it is likely that the sport they provided was enjoyed by the lower orders. Of the 1840s Scruton wrote that pubs staged prize-fights, dog-fights, quoits and 'brasses'.⁴¹ He also described the twice a year Bradford Fair which took place around the Bowling Green Inn. It commenced with a cattle fair and ran for another two to three days afterwards. The streets were lined with stalls and it was apparently:

A glorious medley ... wild beast shows, waxwork exhibits, and the booths of wandering thespians ... conjuring ponies, fortune telling pigs, sea monsters and all the wonderful things that ... make up the fun of the fair.⁴²

As following examples will further demonstrate, despite the pressures on the leisure time of the working classes, there was anything but a leisure vacuum within Bradford. Indeed, James, another Bradford based writer, commented

⁴⁰ Lillian Robinson, 'Cock-Fighting in Yorkshire', ed. George Redmonds, *Old West Riding*, Vol. 2, No.1, Spring 1982, pp.10-2.

⁴¹ Scruton, *Bradford Fifty Years Ago*, p.97.

⁴² Scruton, *Pen and Pencil*, pp.229-30.

that during the latter part of the eighteenth century leisure in the town included: pleasure boating on the Bradford Canal; rowing; two 'much frequented' bowling greens at Tyrrel Street and Spink Well House; a cockpit and a bull ring at the bottom of Westgate.⁴³ In the very centre of the town was the 'Turls', an open space where Bradford's Town Hall stands today, which was flanked by two public houses, The Bull's Head and the Fighting Cocks, whose names further reinforce James's comments about the leisure interests of Bradfordians in what might be termed the traditional era.⁴⁴

Cunningham found that terms such as 'pre-industrial' and 'traditional' were potentially misleading. The presumption could be that 'traditional' practices were automatically doomed once the process of industrialisation and urbanisation got underway. As will be witnessed later in the chapter with the case of knur and spell, this clearly did not happen. Undoubtedly, attitudes towards blood sports, in particular, shifted during the nineteenth century and events such as bull baiting and cock fighting were edged from their town centre position towards the margins of society.⁴⁵ The formation of the Society

⁴³ James, *Continuation and Additions*, p.89; Allison, 'Bradford Canal', p.37. Allison mentions the use of the canal for rowing at weekends before it became badly polluted in the nineteenth century.

⁴⁴ James Burnley, *The Streets of Bradford*, Bradford Central Library, B942 BUR (newspaper cuttings); Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation*, p.61; Fieldhouse, *Bradford*, p.76.

⁴⁵ Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.68-71; Douglas A. Reid, 'Beasts and Brutes: popular blood sports, c.1780-1860', Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp.14-19.

for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1824, allied to its receipt of royal patronage in 1840 (when it became the RSPCA), was a key element in the decline of blood sports.⁴⁶ However, as Harvey noted, the newspapers were also integral to shifting public opinion against cruel sports.⁴⁷ An 1822 Act of Parliament, extended in 1835, made it an offence to keep places for, among others, bull baiting, dog fighting and cock fighting. Although Thompson claimed that the cruel sports with bulls, badgers, dogs and cocks had to all intents disappeared before the end of the 1850s, or were at least in the final stages of decline, the evidence suggests it was less clear cut.⁴⁸ For example, other cruel sports, such as ratting, where dogs would catch and kill rats in a confined space, rose in popularity following the demise of cock-fighting.⁴⁹

Of course, there is a distinction to be made. The aristocracy were still free to butcher the wildlife of Britain, so in reality it was not a case of what was being killed, but by whom.⁵⁰ The reformers were aided by the indirect influences of

⁴⁶ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, pp.86-8; Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate, the English and other creatures in the Victorian age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp.127-30.

⁴⁷ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.35.

⁴⁸ F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society, a social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988), p.279.

⁴⁹ Tony Collins & Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers, a cultural history of sport and alcohol* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), p.8.

⁵⁰ James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (Longman, 1978), p.10; R. Carr, *English Foxhunting: a history* (Weidenfeld, 1976), passim; David Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege, a social history of English fox hunting* (Hassocks: Harvester, 1977), passim; Alastair Durie, 'Unconscious Benefactors, grouse shooting in Scotland, 1780-1914', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15 (3), (Dec. 1998), pp.57-73; Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.45.

‘social and cultural’ changes of an increasingly urban society as the majority of animal sports were, or were becoming, rural based.⁵¹ Reid, discussing the case of the West Midlands, noted a substitution from baiting and fighting at sports grounds to the shooting of pigeons and sparrows, dog racing, rabbit coursing and pedestrianism.⁵² Walton and Poole discerned that the Lancashire Wakes had by mid-century lost their association with blood sports, replacing bull-baiting with horse racing.⁵³ However, Harvey argued that the impact of laws restricting cruel sports ‘was diluted by the attitude and resources of local authorities’.⁵⁴ This resulted in those activities persisting, albeit covertly and illegally. For example, as Walton and Wilcox highlighted, dog fighting was staged at constantly differing venues to lessen the chances of a police raid.⁵⁵ However, as Vamplew illustrated, in the quarter century after 1830 official action against blood sports, and events such as football on the public highway, ran parallel to the spread of the railways and a rise in the disposable income of the working-class.⁵⁶ It can be successfully argued that this was the beginning of a significant moment in the shift towards a modern sporting

⁵¹ Thompson, *Respectable Society*, pp.278-81.

⁵² Reid, ‘Beasts and Brutes’, p23.

⁵³ John K. Walton & Robert Poole, ‘The Lancashire Wakes in the Nineteenth Century’, Robert D. Storch, ed., *Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century England* (Croom Helm, 1982), p.106.

⁵⁴ Harvey, *Football, the first hundred years*, p.3.

⁵⁵ John K. Walton & Alastair Wilcox, eds., *Low Life and Moral Improvement in Mid-Victorian England: Liverpool through the journalism of Hugh Shimmin* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991), p.66.

⁵⁶ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.44.

landscape. The ramifications of this will be examined during the following sections.

iii Horse Racing

Horse races at the Quarry Gap, east Bradford, has been chosen for study as it offers examples that challenge the leisure vacuum theory and to some extent offer a continuity of sporting leisure. This is especially notable in the culture of the spectators who appear to have treated the racing as an all too rare saturnalia. The racing is also important in the context of Bradford as they are early examples of large scale attendance at sporting events and signal the emergence of the publican as an entrepreneur of entertainment on a large scale.

Horse racing and boxing were arguably the first codified spectator sports. It was the spread of the railways that transformed horse racing into a national spectator sport.⁵⁷ Huggins discerned a cultural link between the seasonal horse race meetings and annual fairs where socially mixed crowds would spend money carefully saved for the occasion. That money attracted an itinerant population of 'turfites, thimblerriggers and prostitutes'. Huggins

⁵⁷ James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (Longman, 1978), pp.24-5; David Norman Smith, *The Railway and its Passengers, a social history* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1988), p.121.

concluded that such meetings could only be held seasonally, or even once a year, as the local population simply did not have the disposable income to make a series of meetings financially viable.⁵⁸

Descriptions of a 1¾ mile steeplechase staged at Quarry Gap in the spring of 1844, fit perfectly into Huggins's framework. The course of 'around twenty two fences' was marked by posts with yellow pennants. The 3pm start on a Friday appears to have attracted a mixed audience. It was said 'the gay blade quaffed his champagne while the sportsman of humbler pretensions was content with his brown stout'.⁵⁹ Ancillary gambling and betting, including a 'thimble rig', which apparently emptied the pockets of the gullible, took place alongside the racing. Few reported races took place after the 1844 event. Indeed, it was not until 1855 that the *Bradford Observer* printed a humorous response to a handbill advertising horse racing at Quarry Gap. It was 'remarkable for the freedom of its style, the writer having evidently disdained to be shackled by the ordinary rules of grammar'. The handbill was quoted:

It having been commonly the observation of travellers that Bradford is far behind the generality of towns in recreation and amusement ... a band of spirited gentlemen unite ... to light up the hearts of its toiling

⁵⁸ Mike Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790-1914, a social and economic history* (Frank Cass, 2000), p.19.

⁵⁹ *Bradford Observer and Halifax, Huddersfield, and Keighley Reporter*, 28 Mar. 1844.

and industrious inhabitants once a year, in the character of horse races, on a scale not hitherto attempted in this part of the country.⁶⁰

Despite the disparaging tone, the newspaper conceded that an estimated 20,000 people attended the first day's racing. The handbill's assertion that Bradford was 'far behind' other towns in staging such events could easily have been an advertising ploy rather than a statement of fact. Indeed, the large attendance could equally be viewed as a desperate public flocking to, as Huggins and Tolson noted, an all too rare event, or evidence of a thriving sporting culture.⁶¹ Whatever the motives behind the gathering of the huge crowd, it encouraged a repeat the following year. The 1856 Quarry Gap races were timed to coincide with the Easter holiday. It was almost certainly the type of race that Vamplew described as 'fluctuating set of lesser events, extremely local in character and seldom having a permanent date in the racing calendar'.⁶² Available leisure time and the growth of the railway network were crucial for the profitability of these localised meetings. Advertisements for the Quarry Gap races informed prospective attendees that the course was a five-minute walk from Laisterdyke railway station.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 18 Oct. 1855.

⁶¹ Mike Huggins and John Tolson, 'The Railways and Sport in Britain, a critical reassessment', *Journal of Transport History*, volume 22, number 2, September 2011, p.103.

⁶² Wray Vamplew, *The Turf, a social and economic history of horse racing* (Penguin, 1976), p.33.

⁶³ *Bradford Observer*, 13 Mar. 1856.

However, the railway could also take potential customers away from the race meetings. Pimlott quoted the *Manchester Guardian* commenting on the 1845 Whitsuntide holiday when it noted 'larger numbers leaving Manchester rather than spending the holidays in the traditional way at the Kersal Moor races'. It was estimated that 150,000 people had used the railways to visit a wide range of attractions, but in particular they went to the emerging seaside resorts.⁶⁴ Although clearly there was growing competition in the leisure market, Vamplew charted a significant rise in the staging of races as commercial speculations, but noted that the 'high rate of failure among new meetings ... suggests there was still no certainty of a market large enough to warrant the necessary expenditure'.⁶⁵

In all probability the reason horse racing declined at Quarry Gap was simply that it did not pay. However, when the Betting Act of 1853 came into force, horse races were the only place cash betting was legal. Although it may well have given a short-term boost to the informal, once a year, style of horse racing, it aided the growing trend towards formalised horse racing tracks and the suppression of the informal.⁶⁶ The nearby Bradford Moor races, held annually until 1877, were described as 'notorious' due to the heavy drinking,

⁶⁴ J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday, a social history* (Faber & Faber, 1947), p.94.

⁶⁵ Vamplew, *The Turf*, p.35.

⁶⁶ Mark Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter, popular gambling and English society, c.1823-1961* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p.108; Collins & Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers*, p.11.

gambling and frequent outbreaks of fighting that accompanied the racing.⁶⁷ In an overt display of rational recreation, Bradford Corporation purchased the site for £8,768 and developed Bradford Moor Park.⁶⁸ The wild and untamed was thus replaced by, in both landscape and social terms, the formalised and rational. The enclosure of Bradford Moor Common in 1878 put paid to any thoughts of relocation of the horse races to an adjacent open space.⁶⁹ In some respects the suppression of horse racing at Bradford Moor was a similar process that put down raucous events in other towns, such as mass football in Derby, Stamford bull running and Whipping Tom in Leicester.⁷⁰ However, another factor that aided the centralisation of racing into purpose built tracks was the spread of the electric telegraph, which facilitated a huge growth in off course betting.⁷¹ Burnley, writing about street scenes in late nineteenth century Bradford observed:

On race days the region around the Nags Head ... a concourse of betting men is to be seen waiting the arrival of the telegraphic news ... It is a

⁶⁷ *The Yorkshireman*, 18 Oct. 1879.

⁶⁸ Michael Birdsall, Gina Szekley, Peter Walker, *The Illustrated History of Bradford's Suburbs* (Derby: Breedon, 2002), p.37; Wright, *Chartist Risings*, p.13. Bradford Moor may have suffered from its past associations as it had hosted torchlight Chartist meetings that 'terrified' the propertied classes during the 1840s.

⁶⁹ Russell, 'The Pursuit of Leisure', p.208.

⁷⁰ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, pp.317-19.

⁷¹ Vamplew, *The Turf*, pp.38-48; Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp.56-8; Huggins, *Flat Racing*, pp.27-29.; Paul Jennings, *The Public House in Bradford, 1770-1970* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995), p. 205.

somewhat curious fact that Bradford, remote as it is from all racing centres, should nevertheless have raised such a horde of men.⁷²

The continued spread of the railways has been presented as another significant development. Huggins describes a relatively small meeting at Ripon in 1853 attracting excursion trains from Hartlepool, Leeds, Stockton and York.⁷³ Collins and Vamplew argued:

The modernisation of racing from the mid-nineteenth century onwards – through the advent of railways, the building of enclosed racecourses, and the creation of a national racing structure – changed the spectating experience from being akin to attending a fair or festival to being a consumer of a controlled, time-limited event, thus reducing, but not removing, the opportunities for alcoholic over-indulgence.⁷⁴

However, the move towards a controlled environment was a gradual process even at dedicated courses. At Aintree alongside the racing were numerous tents dedicated to, among other things, pedestrianism, pugilism and prostitution.⁷⁵ At Carlisle, Manchester and York balloon ascents and gypsy

⁷² Burnley, *Streets of Bradford; The Yorkshireman*, 30 Aug. 1879.

⁷³ Huggins, *Flat Racing*, p.26.

⁷⁴ Collins & Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers*, p.70.

⁷⁵ Walton & Wilcox, eds., *Low Life and Moral Improvement*, pp.74-6.

fortune tellers vied for the attention of the punters.⁷⁶ In Bradford horse racing adapted to a combination of official pressure, hilly topography and development of open land for industry and housing with a switch to trotting, which could be accommodated on tracks constructed around sports fields. Such facilities were frequently associated with public houses.

iv The Publican as an Entrepreneur of Entertainment

The role of the publican in nurturing, and staging quite large scale sporting events, is key to understanding the place of sporting leisure in the period immediately prior to the arrival of the codified, and recognisably modern, mass spectator sports. Although gate money was a well-established element of the sporting scene, and, as Brailsford and Oldfield have contended, the enclosing of sports grounds was not a product of the Victorian era, it will nevertheless be argued that the enclosing of grounds alongside public houses in an urban environment, was a significant moment in the development of sport.⁷⁷ In the period before the 1870s, after which brewers began to take control of the public houses, individuals were able to become 'entrepreneurs of entertainment'. These individuals, Cunningham claimed, were beginning

⁷⁶ Huggins, *Flat Racing*, p.128.

⁷⁷ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, pp.168-9; Dennis Brailsford, 'Sporting Days in Eighteenth Century England' *Journal of Sport History*, 9, 3, (1982), p.43; Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', pp.226-7.

to take advantage of the commercial opportunities that set time away from the workplace, an offshoot of regularised working hours, offered.⁷⁸ Indeed, Oldfield claimed that publicans were 'forerunners' in the commercialisation of sporting leisure.⁷⁹ Waters described the publicans as recreational entrepreneurs who were often 'less a captain of industry than a small-time businessman, well-known in the community in which he operated'. And yet, again as Waters concluded, they had a 'profound effect on working-class uses of leisure'.⁸⁰

The number of public houses in Bradford had grown from seventy-nine in 1830 to 137 in 1870. Although Jennings noted that the growth lagged behind a three-fold population increase in the same period, the expansion of public house provision is still notable.⁸¹ In the same period the retail drinks trade comprised of two distinct sectors: public houses licensed by magistrates and beerhouses licensed direct from the Excise. Externally beerhouses were often only distinguishable from surrounding housing by their sign.⁸² The

⁷⁸ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (Croom Helm, 1980), p.73; Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.167; Croll, *Civilizing the Urban*, pp.151-2.

⁷⁹ Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', p.238.

⁸⁰ Chris Waters, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p.21; Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', Dave Russell, ed., *Sport in Manchester, Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 20 (Manchester: 2009), p.4. Russell described publicans as being key to sporting developments.

⁸¹ Jennings, *Public House in Bradford*, p.111.

⁸² Jennings, *The Local*, pp.57-67.

neighbourhood beerhouses were often too insubstantial to offer sporting facilities, whereas the public house, and particularly those situated on the edge of the town, occasionally had adjacent land where sporting events could be utilised to attract significant numbers of spectators.

One of the 'entrepreneurs of entertainment' was Alfred Hardy, a publican in his early forties whose arrival at the Quarry Gap Inn, east Bradford, coincided with an expansion of sporting attractions being staged in the pub and its adjacent field.⁸³ Hardy gave the field the eye-catching title of the City Sporting Grounds. Large stakes were advertised to give the sporting contests an air of theatre and confrontation. In April 1863 a £100 knur and spell match between Joseph 'Nelly' Pearson of Farsley and James Coward of Baildon, attracted a 'large concourse of spectators'.⁸⁴ The following month two Bradford men contested a foot race for £50 over 120 yards. Apparently, there was considerable betting on the outcome.⁸⁵ Crowds were not simply tempted by potential monetary gains, they could also be attracted by curiosity to events that verged on freak shows. What was termed 'a singular cricket match' took place between eleven Greenwich pensioners, all minus an arm and eleven Chelsea pensioners, each with only one leg. The players, preceded by a brass

⁸³ *Bradford Observer*, 6 Feb. 1862.

⁸⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 23 Apr. 1863. Knur and spell will be returned to later in the chapter.

⁸⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 28 May 1863.

band, were paraded in a publicity stunt around Bradford in an omnibus. In beautiful weather the team termed 'one leg' won by fifty-one runs. The *Bradford Observer* reported 'the movements of both parties were often very ludicrous, and excited roars of laughter'.⁸⁶ A combination of local or regional rivalry, allied to the reputation and renown of the opposition, was another method of attracting a gate paying crowd. In May 1866 the United South of England, an itinerant eleven, met the Quarry Gap and District. The *Bradford Observer* initially reported that the match was organised by Alfred Hardy 'entirely as a business speculation'. A week later it retracted by stating that 'Mr Hardy's gain from the match will be in honour rather than emolument'.⁸⁷ Whatever the truth of Hardy's intentions, he probably intended to make money, but the suggestion is that he did not. The staging of informal, and one off, cricket matches is a good illustration of the process Light described:

Informal cricket coexisted and even complemented the organised form of the sport as it first developed in some industrial communities across the region.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 9 July 1863.

⁸⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 10 May; 17 May 1866.

⁸⁸ Rob Light, *Cricket's Forgotten Past: a social and cultural history of the game in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1820-1870* (PhD. thesis, De Montfort University, 2008), p.222.

Indeed, throughout 1865 and 1866 a series of cricket matches was staged which begins to illustrate an important shift in the focus of sporting leisure. The games involved a team entitled the 'Bradford Tailors'. When the Tailors met the Printers in October 1865 the *Bradford Observer* commented: 'Thanks to the Saturday half-holiday movement, theses two trades were enabled to play a friendly game on the Quarry Gap ground'.⁸⁹ Other matches played were between: Bradford Caxtons (printers) and Tailors; Tailors' United and Bowling Napoleon 2nd Eleven; Bradford Butchers and Great Horton; Tailors' United (with professional) and Bradford Caxton; Bradford Tailors and Greenfield United.⁹⁰ Although the Tailors disappear from Quarry Gap after the summer of 1866, and only irregular reports of cricket matches at the location appear in the early 1870s, this is the first evidence of the Saturday half-holiday beginning to change the way people consumed their leisure time: regular matches played by tradesmen, as opposed to the annual Saturnalia of the horse races (the impact on the Saturday half-holiday and workplace cricket will be examined in the next chapter as will links between cricket and Bradford publicans).

Despite the commercialised nature of the events staged at Quarry Gap, Hardy offered his ground free of charge, and incurred all the expenses, for a cricket

⁸⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 12 Oct. 1865.

⁹⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 28 June, 26 July, 9 Aug., 6 Sept., 1866; Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp. 49-51.

match between the merchants and manufacturers of Bradford, which raised £1 15s for the Bradford Infirmary and Dispensary.⁹¹ Throughout 1863 a donation box in the pub attracted £2 11s 4d. It was, in comparison to collections at other locations, an exceptional amount, and perhaps reflected the large crowds attracted to the various events, as of the other twenty-eight pubs and inns listed, twenty-two collected under £1.⁹² Hardy evidently did have notions of respectability. He was a member of the Bradford Licensed Victuallers Protection and Benevolent Society. He was in attendance at their 1864 meeting where 'the usual loyal toasts' were followed by acknowledgements of the army, navy and volunteers. An invasion by the French was so feared in 1859 that it led to the establishment of the popular volunteer force.⁹³ A combination of the Crimean War, the invasion scare and the dramatic rise of Prussia also helped enhance the value of sport in improving the physical condition of the population.⁹⁴ The chairman of the meeting, Lieutenant-Colonel Hirst estimated that 1,400 young men in the district had become 'thoroughly conversant with the use of the rifle'. Following toasts suggest that the Bradford Licensed Victuallers Protection and Benevolent Society was firmly embedded within the local establishment.

⁹¹ *Bradford Observer*, 27 Aug. 1863.

⁹² *Bradford Observer*, 7 Jan. 1864.

⁹³ Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force, a social and political history, 1859-1908* (Croom Helm, 1975), p.5.

⁹⁴ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England, rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885* (Routledge, 1978, reprint 2007), p.125.

The gathering raised their glasses to: The West Riding and Borough Magistrates; the town and trade of Bradford; and the Mayor and Corporation.⁹⁵ The contacts Hardy gained via his membership of the society may well have resulted in use of the field at Quarry Gap for the assembly of the Second West Yorkshire Yeomanry Cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Edwards MP.⁹⁶

Hosting commercial events naturally exposed Alfred Hardy to significant financial risk. Horse races, termed the 'autumn meeting' in September 1863 suffered from a 'thin attendance' on the Saturday, but 'a good many' watched the action on the Monday.⁹⁷ The spring meeting the following year suffered low attendances due to inclement weather. It was doubly disappointing as the organisers had invested in a fifteen feet 'grand water leap' that should have been a spectacular attraction.⁹⁸ Hardy did not just rely on sport to attract the public to his establishment. He staged several horse and animal fairs. He also recognised the importance of the local Bowling Feast holiday, and on one occasion a brass band contest was held. The event was promoted by Hinchcliffe & Co. of Farnley, Leeds. Prizes totalling £25 were awarded.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 8 Dec. 1864.

⁹⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 20 July 1865.

⁹⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 10 Sept. 1863.

⁹⁸ *Bradford Observer*, 3 Mar. 1864.

⁹⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 21 Aug. 1862; 11 Oct. 1866.

grounds even hosted a 'great gipsy gathering' of reportedly 6,000 people, when sack racing and 'other amusements' were indulged in.¹⁰⁰

Aside from the actual events, general conversations in the public house probably had a significant sporting element to them. Jennings used contemporary sources to conclude that in the mid-1880s sport and gambling were regular topics of conversation in Bradford's pubs. In one White Abbey beerhouse the talk was of: 'running on dogs and coursing in one corner; in another pigeon-flying ... three men offering to bet fabulous sums on a pedestrian match'.¹⁰¹ The sporting talk was supplemented by a large array of pub-based games, although miniature rifle ranges must have been exceptional.¹⁰² At the Quarry Gap both an institution, and an individual, in the shape of the landlord Alfred Hardy, enjoyed a growing connection with sport, a relationship which, although it would fluctuate, remains in place to this day.

v Pedestrianism

¹⁰⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 30 June 1864.

¹⁰¹ Jennings, *Public House in Bradford*, pp.203-5.

¹⁰² Jennings, *Public House in Bradford*, p.204.

Pedestrianism is the often forgotten face of Victorian athletics. Holt ascribed the blame to the success, nationally and internationally, of the Olympic games and its ethos of amateurism, which marginalised the older professional tradition of athletics.¹⁰³ However, as Lovesey stated, comparison with modern athletics is misleading. Pedestrianism, although essentially professional working class athletics, had a culture and an atmosphere more akin to the prize fight or horse racing. Pedestrianism was a catch-all term for athletics that could include sprinting, endurance races, walking and leaping.¹⁰⁴ Day claimed that prior to the advent of organised football, pedestrianism was 'the major spectator sport of the working classes'. Oldfield claimed that pedestrianism evolved from 'fete and wake side-show activity to a highly organised and complex programme of athletic entertainment'.¹⁰⁵ As it was almost always administered from public houses, it is perhaps natural that some of the raucousness of those establishments was transferred to the meetings.¹⁰⁶ Pedestrianism, driven off the streets and often into the arms of

¹⁰³ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British, a modern history* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p.185. Holt deduced a similar pattern to the later marginalisation of professional league cricket and rugby league.

¹⁰⁴ Dave Day ed., *Pedestrianism* (Crewe: MMU Sport and Leisure History, 2014), p.i ; Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, 'George Martin, wizard of pedestrianism and Manchester's sporting entrepreneur', Dave Day, ed., *Sporting Lives* (Crewe: MMU Institute for Performance Research, 2011), pp.144-5.

¹⁰⁵ Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, 'The Manchester Milers 1850-1870', Dave Day, ed., *Pedestrianism* (Crewe: MMU Sport and Leisure History, 2014), p.83.

¹⁰⁶ Peter Lovesey, *Kings of Distance, a study of five great runners* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), pp.15-7.

the publican, by the Highways Act of 1835, was popular and profitable.¹⁰⁷

Birley wrote of pedestrianism meetings:

These were gate-money affairs, often in fields adjoining public houses, with plenty of beer and bookmakers taking bets and star attractions in exotic costumes contending against the local lads.¹⁰⁸

For publicans staging pedestrianism events not only increased sales of alcohol, they also received commission on betting and gate receipts. Oldfield identified a loose network of public houses that regularly hosted pedestrianism and athletic events.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, as Birley argued, the zeal of the Amateur Athletics Club to exclude the 'peds' actively encouraged the expansion of a professional circuit.¹¹⁰ The sport rapidly comprehended the link between publicity, regularity and profit. Interestingly, many pedestrianism events, even in the north of England and Scotland, were organised through the pages of the weekly newspaper *Bell's Life in London*.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Holt, *Sport and the British*, p.349; Croll, *Civilizing the Urban*, p.140.

¹⁰⁸ Derek Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp.239-40.

¹⁰⁹ Oldfield, 'George Martin', p.149.

¹¹⁰ Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain*, p.278.

¹¹¹ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.50; Tony Mason, 'Sporting News 1860-1914', Michael Harris & Alan J. Lee, eds., *The Press and English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries* (Associated University Press, 1986), pp.169-71; Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', p.230.

Was this a sign of an emerging national sporting culture, or a professional sport, and entrepreneurs, making practical use of an existing publication? Harvey argued that the press, in particularly the weeklies, effectively facilitated, and gave birth to, a truly national sporting culture.¹¹² He claimed that *Bell's* coverage of sporting events often exceeded 'even the most diligent local paper'.¹¹³ *Bell's* increased its circulation partly thanks to its coverage of popular sports. This might be reflective of both the appeal of sport, rising levels of literacy and increased disposable income. Huggins wrote:

While maintaining its focus on more gentlemanly sports, in the 1840s *Bell's Life* increased its coverage of working-class sports including pedestrianism races, sculling, knur and spell, wrestling, quoiting, potshare bowling, rabbit and hare coursing, and shooting at pigeons and sparrows.¹¹⁴

Individuals may have utilised the sporting press to publicise events, as Harvey said they were 'often slipping them in as unpaid advertisements by masquerading as bulletins on a pedestrians progress'.¹¹⁵ The challenges printed in the newspaper illustrate a high degree of professionalism. By

¹¹² Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.31.

¹¹³ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.49.

¹¹⁴ Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (Hambledon & London, 2004), p.3.

¹¹⁵ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.44.

offering prize money and handicaps the competitors must have been acutely aware of the strengths and weaknesses of their potential opponents. A typical challenge is reproduced below:

HARRY WATSON of Bradford will run any of the following one mile, for £25 a side, viz, Ely Parkin of Huddersfield, Rant of Holmfirth, Cob Heaton of Netherton, Jonathon Bincliffe of Raistrick, or give Pummell of Manningham 15 yards, or Gallick of Horton 30 yards in a mile. Matches can be made by sending £5 to us, and articles to the Beckett's Arms, Bradford.¹¹⁶

Virtually all of the challenges were issued using a public house as the point of contact. Quite clearly, the Quarry Gap Inn had become part of a network of venues which utilised sporting events in order to maximise profits. In August 1862 around fifteen hundred spectators were attracted to an athletics event entitled 'English Champions'. The title was somewhat misleading as the star attraction was Louis 'Deerfoot' Bennett, a 5' 11" American Indian. The races were staged in the 'Deerfoot Travelling Race Course', a one thousand foot tent which enclosed a 220 yard track.¹¹⁷ The promoter George Martin, the landlord of the Royal Oak, Newton Heath, Manchester, which boasted its own race

¹¹⁶ *Bell's Life in London*, 25 Jan. 1852.

¹¹⁷ Oldfield, 'George Martin', p.157; Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', pp.233-4.

course, received applications from all over Britain from people wishing to stage the event.¹¹⁸ The event was part of a nationwide tour that, according to Lovesey, visited virtually every town and city in the land.¹¹⁹ Undoubtedly, there will have been profit sharing of the gate receipts and Martin even had a stake in the sale of photographs of Deerfoot which Oldfield claims were 'hung in public houses all over Britain'.¹²⁰ This could be explained as a cult of celebrity adding to the profits of a highly commercial operation.

Undoubtedly, Quarry Gap's most notable pedestrianism event, at least from a modern perspective given the column inches it continues to generate, commenced on 17 September 1864 when local woman Emma Sharp attempted to walk 1,000 miles in 1,000 hours on a 120 yard course.¹²¹ She walked for two miles at a time and rested every second hour. Emma's feat was probably inspired by Captain Barclay's famous 1809 feat of walking one mile in each of 1,000 successive hours.¹²² There was heavy betting and it was reported that some spectators attempted to trip her up after dark and even

¹¹⁸ Oldfield, 'George Martin', p.160; Deborah Elaine Woodman, *The Public House in Manchester and Salford, c.1815-1880* (PhD. thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University, 2001), p.165.

¹¹⁹ Peter Lovesey, *Kings of Distance*, pp.31-3.

¹²⁰ Oldfield, 'George Martin', pp.154-9; Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', p.224; Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.201. Harvey claimed that sportsmen often received no money from the sale of photographs and prints.

¹²¹ *Telegraph & Argus*, 3 Oct. 2007.

¹²² Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.39; Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', p.226; Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay, sport, gambling and adventure in Regency times* (Review, 2001).

that her food was doped. By October she had completed 600 miles and on one Monday, doubtless as part of a publicity stunt, 'no less than 5,000 females attended the inclosure'. Although it appears likely that the admission fee varied, it seems likely from the example of thousands of females that they were attracted by a deal rather than a spontaneous act of feminine solidarity, as the ordinary admission fee was reported as being 6d.¹²³ The event was kept in the public eye with announcements, such as one day's gate money, £8 17s, being donated to Bradford Infirmary. It was a significant amount of money. As was shown earlier, a cricket match played in aid of the Infirmary the previous year raised £1 15s. Even allowing for the deduction of expenses, the fact that, in a decade when cricket was being described as the national game, an individual pedestrianism event generated nearly six times more income at the gate is quite remarkable.¹²⁴

In the final stages of the walk the police were called to protect Emma and she was said to have carried a pistol. Indeed, some reports say she actually fired it twenty seven times.¹²⁵ On 29 October 1864, after 14,600 laps of the circuit, she completed the 1,000 miles in front of a reported, albeit improbable, 25,000 spectators. The Bowling Brass Band led her to the finish line. A firework

¹²³ *Leeds Times*, 15 Oct. 1864.

¹²⁴ Keith Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), pp.53-80.

¹²⁵ Birdsall, Szekley, Walker, *Bradford's Suburbs*, p.108.

display, cannon fire and a whole roasted sheep helped along the celebrations. Emma received 'at least £500' as her share of the admission money and used the windfall to establish a hearth rug business in nearby Laisterdyke.¹²⁶ Emma's feat perhaps epitomised the eccentric world of pedestrianism, which, according to Bailey, 'was exemplified in the contrast between the new model athletic sports of the AAC and the popular athletics of pedestrianism'.¹²⁷ Although a man walking around the billiard table of the Hope and Anchor beerhouse in Picton Street, Manningham, for 135 hours in June 1881, must rank, in modern eyes at least, at the more bizarre end of pedestrianism.¹²⁸ However strange pedestrianism may appear, it should not overshadow the fact the events at locations such as Quarry Gap are a central, albeit often overlooked, part of the history of athletics. As Lovesey wrote 'sufficient credit has never been given to the nineteenth century managers of professional running grounds for laying the foundations of the modern athletic meet'.¹²⁹ Russell concurred describing publicans as being key figures in development of athletic meets.¹³⁰ Pedestrianism itself was destined to fade in the face of the

¹²⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 22 Sept.; 13 Oct.; 3 Nov. 1864.

¹²⁷ Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p.132.

¹²⁸ Jennings, *Public House in Bradford*, p.204.

¹²⁹ Peter Lovesey, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association* (Enfield: Guinness Superlatives, 1979), p.15.

¹³⁰ Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', *Manchester Region History Review*, 20, (2009), p.4.

Amateur Athletics Club's growing national authority, and concerns about the influence of gambling on the legitimacy of pedestrianism races.¹³¹

vi Knur and Spell

Knur and spell has been seen as a notable survival whose name and culture is a link not only to the pre-industrial society, but is one that stretches back into the very fabric of northernness. It has been claimed that the game's origin hails from the northern Scandinavian bat and ball game of nurspell.¹³² Wright's English dialect dictionary makes no reference to the game's origins, but does list the differing spellings: knor, knur, knurr.¹³³ The players of knur and spell were often called 'laikers', which could be linked to the old Norse word leika, which translates as 'to play'.¹³⁴ In this case study the survival of knur and spell well into the inter-war period and, in the appendix, the brief, but frequent, bursts of life into the late twentieth century is considered.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', pp.237-8.

¹³² Tony Collins, John Martin, Wray Vamplew, *Encyclopaedia of Traditional British Rural Sports* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p.177; Spen Valley Local History Survey, *Pennine Pastimes, Knur & Spell* (Hebden Bridge: Pennine Heritage Network, 1984), p.1; Arthur Taylor, *Played at the Pub, the pub games of Britain* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2009), p.114; p.172.

¹³³ Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Vol.III, H-L (Henry Frowde, 1902), pp. 487-488.

¹³⁴ http://www.viking.no/e/england/yorkshire_norse.htm#L accessed 15 Feb. 2012; Katie Wales, *Northern English, a social and cultural history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.54-55; Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians, inventing the old north in nineteenth-century Britain* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), p.336.

¹³⁵ Alan Tomlinson, *Sport and Leisure Cultures* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), p.212.

Thompson identified knurl and spell as being one of the less violent pastimes of the era.¹³⁶ Griffin described it as a 'game of skill, requiring hours of careful practice' which she noted were qualities not required in, for example, the west Midlands where blood sports were prevalent.¹³⁷ The game is simplicity itself. Individual players strike a marble sized ball with a long handled, but small faced, bat in an open field.¹³⁸ The player who hits the ball furthest is the winner. Griffin claimed that in south Yorkshire players aimed for wide goals at the far end of the playing field.¹³⁹ Thus far no references to 'goals' have been found in west Yorkshire. If the actual game is simplistic, gaining access to the equipment to play is another matter. The bats, spring traps and balls were never available off the shelf. Apart from the pot knurs (the balls), all of the equipment had to be, often painstakingly, homemade. The game never became popularised to the extent that its equipment became available commercially.¹⁴⁰ This element of inaccessibility partly explains why the game remained at the margins of sport.

¹³⁶ Thompson, *English Working Class*, p.448.

¹³⁷ Emma Griffin, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p.158.

¹³⁸ Russell, *Looking North*, p.240.

¹³⁹ Griffin, *England's Revelry*, p.158.

¹⁴⁰ Paul Breeze and Stuart Greenfield, *Colne Giants, tales from the forgotten world of knur and spell* (Nelson: Posh up North, 2002), pp.12-15.

The 'stick' or bat comprised of a head, with a face a few inches wide, attached to a four to six foot long handle. The latter was very flexible being fashioned from ash.¹⁴¹ The manufacture of the heads was the most closely guarded secrets among players. The rear of the head was made from beech, but the face was hardened by weeks of compression in specially made presses. The length of the process would vary according to the type required: a hard face for a calm day in order to punch the ball through the air; a soft face for breezy days when players would attempt to take advantage of the wind. Leading exponents of the game would arrive with a variety of 'sticks' and would select the most appropriate with the aid of a 'baumer', or caddy to use golfing parlance.¹⁴² The balls were called 'knurs' and, until the 1890s, were carved wood, around 1½ inches in diameter and dimpled in a similar fashion to a golf ball. During the late Victorian period the knur was developed into a 'pottie' marble sized ball fired in a kiln from china clay. A pottery at Pepper Hill, Shelf, near Bradford, was once a noted source of knurs. As the game declined in popularity acquiring knurs became a significant issue. In the 1980s a group of players approached a pottery but were informed that an order of 10,000 would be required in order to justify casting the moulds.¹⁴³ The other

¹⁴¹ Bradford Central Library, local studies collection. *The City Gent*, No. 54, Dec. 1994, p.26. David Pendleton interview with 1971 knur and spell world champion, Selwyn Schofield. From the 1970s onwards beginners would practice using old fishing rods as handles to avoid snapping the ash ones which are painstaking to make.

¹⁴² Spen Valley Local History Survey, *Pennine Pastimes, Knur & Spell* (Hebden Bridge: Pennine Heritage Network, 1984), p.4.

¹⁴³ *The City Gent*, No. 54, Dec. 1994, p.26.

piece of equipment, which also completes the name of the game, is the 'spell'. This was a spring trap that threw the ball into the air in order for the player to strike it.¹⁴⁴ The spell perhaps epitomises knur and spell itself: incomprehensible to those unfamiliar with the game, an intricately engineered piece of equipment whose mastery was almost an art, known only to the initiates.

The field of play varied according to local circumstance. Ideally, the field needed be of fairly short grass, to assist in finding knurs, and around four hundred yards in length in order to accommodate the longest of strikes. As knur and spell had no written rules or governing body, rules would be agreed between the players and organisers prior to the match. There were two main variants: 'long knock' where the single longest distance achieved won; or 'laikin' where every strike counted to an overall aggregate score. A 'laikin' scorecard, from a match at Quarry Gap between Joseph Pearson of Farsley and James Coward of Baildon, in April 1863 is reproduced below. The game was played over thirty rises, a rise being the number of occasions the player attempted to strike the ball; the strikes are measured in scores of yards, hence 10 equals 200 yards. As can be deduced from the scorecard the match was desperately close and was won with the last strike of the game. The *Bradford*

¹⁴⁴ Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Vol.III, H-L (Henry Frowde, 1902), pp.487-8; Taylor, *Played at the Pub*, p.487.

Observer noted a 'large concourse of spectators ... and the excitement sometimes was very great'.¹⁴⁵

Table 1.2

Scorecard of Knur and Spell Match, Bradford, April 1863

Pearson						
Rises	Scores					Totals
First five	10	8	9	9	10	46
Second five	8	8	8	9	9	42
Third five	10	9	10	9	9	47
Fourth five	8	9	9	9	8	43
Fifth five	7	10	8	10	11	46
Sixth five	12	10	10	9	13	54
Grand total						278

Coward						
First five	11	9	11	7	10	48
Second five	8	9	6	10	5	38
Third five	10	8	10	9	9	46

¹⁴⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 23 Apr. 1863.

Fourth five	9	9	9	10	9	46
-------------	---	---	---	----	---	----

Fifth five	10	10	10	10	9	49
------------	----	----	----	----	---	----

Sixth five	10	11	10	11	8	50
------------	----	----	----	----	---	----

Grand total	277
-------------	-----

Knur and spell was described as ‘the great game’ in the period leading up to the 1820s.¹⁴⁶ Scruton listed knur and spell, foot-races and cricket as being among Bradford’s most popular pastimes in the 1840s.¹⁴⁷ The rise of cricket must have posed a challenge to the popularity of knur and spell. Indeed, the parallels between knur and spell and the single wicket challenge matches of cricket are striking. As Light described, prior to regulated working hours single wicket challenge matches were organised on an *ad hoc* basis because the sporadic nature of work patterns militated against structured, weekly, sporting fixtures.¹⁴⁸ As with single wicket contests, the localised, and partly informal, knur and spell matches were culturally close to their folk origins; yet at its most competitive level, knur and spell had strong elements of commercialisation, many of the promoters were publicans, and there were close links with gambling.

¹⁴⁶ Law, *Story of Bradford*, p.150.

¹⁴⁷ Scruton, *Bradford Fifty Years Ago*, p.97.

¹⁴⁸ Light, *Cricket’s Forgotten Past*, p.36.

Both of the latter elements were evident during a dispute between a promoter and a knur and spell player in 1874. In the wake of a challenge match at the Quarry Gap field, Bradford, Joseph Coward, an overlooker in a textile mill and a knur and spell player 'of considerable fame' of Tong Park, Baildon, instigated legal proceedings against the promoter, Isaac Tetlow, landlord of Napier Inn, Bradford Moor. Tetlow collected an admission fee from spectators and was said to have agreed to give £5 to each of the players from the takings. Aside from the gate money, the match itself was played for a £70 purse, with each player putting forward £10 each and the remaining £50 provided 'from their backers'.¹⁴⁹ For the defence it was alleged that Coward had deliberately missed a shot and had temporarily removed himself from the field after claiming that the crowd were interfering with his play. The judge, W.T.S. Daniel Q.C., found in favour of Coward and the £5 was ordered to be paid.¹⁵⁰ Although knur and spell has often been titled 'the poor man's golf', in reality the growth, and opportunities offered by, cricket must have enticed many a potential knur and spell player away from the game.¹⁵¹ There are examples of players who played both single wicket matches and knur and spell, from the famous Yorkshire cricketer Tom Marsden to Nelly Pearson of Farsley.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 18 Jan. 1874.

¹⁵⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 18 Jan 1874.

¹⁵¹ Taylor, *Played at the Pub*, p.8.

¹⁵² Light, *Cricket's Forgotten Past*, pp.231-3.

Knur and spell appears to have been played widely across the West Riding of Yorkshire and in east Lancashire until at least the Great War. For high profile matches significant attendances were a regular feature. In 1854 a contest between Jagger and 'Bill at Mount' played at Wibsey, south Bradford, attracted a reported 10,000 crowd.¹⁵³ The game was popular in both town and country. One of many newspaper reports that confirms this supposition comes from February 1871 when two men accused of gambling claimed they were watching a game of knur and spell in Drummond's Field, which was situated in the heavily industrialised Bradford suburb of Manningham.¹⁵⁴ As Collins and Vamplew demonstrated, the game actually thrived well into the inter-war period. They used a sample of adverts placed in the *Yorkshire Post* between 1870 and 1920. They concluded that knur and spell was in 1920 'easily the sport most commonly advertised by pubs in the region, accounting for 56 per cent of the advertised events'.¹⁵⁵

The survival of knur and spell is a clear indication that supposed pre-modern sport did not immediately wither on the vine once codified sports began to attract attendances in the tens of thousands. Without doubt there was a

¹⁵³ Spen Valley Local History Survey, *Pennine Pastimes, Knur & Spell* (Hebden Bridge: Pennine Heritage Network, 1984), p.1; Taylor, *Played at the Pub*, p.174.

¹⁵⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 23 Feb. 1871.

¹⁵⁵ Collins & Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers*, pp.18-19.

notable transformation of popular sport between the mid-nineteenth century and the outbreak of the Great War. Bailey claimed the big crowds drawn to events such as Emma Sharpe's walking feat, or knur and spell matches, were, by the 1880s, being lured away by football, or in Bradford's case rugby.¹⁵⁶ However, it would be a mistake to assume, as Tranter pointed out, that large crowds and commercialism were products of codified sports.¹⁵⁷ Undoubtedly, a pattern had been set, however, the drift, especially if the size of the knur and spell crowds are taken at face value, was a slower process than might be expected. The survival of knur and spell into the twentieth century also supports Tranter's and Storch's criticism that, all too often, there has been an 'assumption that working-class sport was always an exact copy of elite initiatives and had no independent life of its own'.¹⁵⁸ As Tomlinson deduced from his research into knur and spell at Colne in Lancashire, the game has left a legacy and is a reminder that 'sport and leisure lifestyles need not be solely about the search for the new or the assertion of the regularly and frenetically reconstituted identity'.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p.140.

¹⁵⁷ Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.13-15.

¹⁵⁸ Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society*, p.28; Storch, Introduction: persistence and change, p.12.

¹⁵⁹ Alan Tomlinson, *Sport and Leisure Cultures* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), p.220.

The danger of viewing knur and spell through the lens of heritage tourism and otherness is that it cuts knur and spell adrift, and attempts to preserve it in some pre-modern, masculine aspic, rather than viewing it as part of a wider sporting culture. As Burke, Holt, Scribner and Underdown have urged, knur and spell should be viewed as part of a series of overlapping sub-cultures.¹⁶⁰ As the example of the various cricketers illustrate, there was significant cross-sport participation. Undoubtedly, this would have equally applied to the spectators. Although the villages on the western fringes of Bradford were well known centres of knur and spell, there would have been little to hinder the inhabitants boarding a train or tram to travel the short distance to join the large crowds watching the Association Football matches at Park Avenue and Valley Parade. Indeed, when Bradford City won the FA Cup in 1911, one of the many excursion trains carrying supporters to the final commenced its journey at the knur and spell hotspot of Thornton.¹⁶¹

Conclusion

¹⁶⁰ Peter Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century London', Barry Reay, ed., *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-century England* (Croom Helm, 1985), pp.31-2; Holt, *Sport and the British*, p.194; Bob Scribner, 'Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?', *History of European Ideas*, x (1989) pp.173-91; David Underdown, 'Regional Cultures? Local Variations in Popular Culture during the Early Modern Period', Tim Harris, ed., *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850* (MacMillan, 1995), p.29

¹⁶¹ David Pendleton, *Glorious 1911* (Shipley: bantamspast, 2011), pp.32-4.

The evolution from pre-modern sport to the highly developed, and recognisably modern, has been extensively debated. Pedestrianism, cock and dog fighting and knur and spell were all represented in Bradford both prior to, and after, mass spectator sports emerged. This reinforces emerging academic thought that the transition from pre-modern to modern sport was a lengthy and complex process.¹⁶² There were probably overlapping sub-cultures between games such as knur and spell and the codified sports. They coexisted for several decades and, arguably, it was wider societal changes that brought about the demise of knur and spell and the blood sports. There is little evidence to support a leisure vacuum neatly separating pre-modern and modern sport. The persistence of the leisure vacuum theory is remarkable given that Cunningham's reappraisal has been in print since 1980. What was arguably more pertinent during the period was not the lack of leisure opportunities, but the dilution of annual events, often staged around holidays, and a move towards a common leisure time.¹⁶³ Some sports often described as pre-modern undoubtedly became 'incompatible with the new work discipline, evangelical morality and social respectability' that were reshaping British society'.¹⁶⁴ However, the evidence suggests that this was a gradual process rather than a sudden change.

¹⁶² Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain*, pp.5-8.

¹⁶³ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, pp.24-5.

¹⁶⁴ Peter Davies and Robert Light, *Cricket and Community in England, 1800 to the present day* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p.21.

The case study of the sporting events staged around the Quarry Gap Inn is a valuable insight into both sport on the cusp of the codified mass spectator sports and a time of realignment of the drinks trade. The late nineteenth century saw a decline in the number of public houses, mergers and consolidation of brewers and a decline in the consumption of alcohol. It probably inspired publicans such as Alfred Hardy to utilise sport to attract custom to his pub. The clustering of sports around public houses was also aided, perhaps inadvertently, by the actions of the authorities in attempting to drive *ad hoc* informal sports away from public spaces and roadways. Hardy was one of many publicans who developed specialised sports grounds, which, in some cases, will have come to dominate their businesses.¹⁶⁵ Although Brailsford and Oldfield challenged the notion that enclosed sports grounds was a product of the Victorian era, in Bradford at least the enclosing of the ground at Quarry Gap appears to have been unprecedented.¹⁶⁶

For around six years Hardy had attracted a huge variety of sports to Quarry Gap. He left the public house in 1868 on the very cusp of the rapid growth of codified sport. Perhaps he understood the direction leisure was taking? Additionally, by the 1870s, as Storch identified, the police and magistrates had

¹⁶⁵ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.169.

¹⁶⁶ Brailsford, 'Sporting Days', p.43; Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', pp.226-7.

much closer control over public houses. Whereas throughout the 1860s fines for permitting gambling etc., had been viewed almost as an occupational hazard, and a cost of doing business, a decade later they faced a higher chance of being put out of business.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, after Hardy's departure there are many reports of landlords being fined for allowing betting to take place and sale of alcohol outside the prescribed hours. The number of sporting events at the Quarry Gap dramatically declined and, as will be witnessed in the coming chapters, sport could just as easily empty public houses, a process that would become ever more apparent with the dawning of the twentieth century. Events in Bradford support Collins and Vamplew's conclusion that the promotion of sports at locations such as the Quarry Gap helped lay the basis for the provision of sport away from the pub as it became just one of many venues for the staging of popular sports.¹⁶⁸ Before the turn of the century the fields that had hosted Hardy's City Sporting Grounds had been built upon and the link between the Quarry Gap Inn and spectator sport was broken. In 1871 Hardy is described, at the age of forty-nine, as a retired publican.¹⁶⁹ When his son married in 1891 he was listed as a 'deceased

¹⁶⁷ Storch, Introduction: Persistence and Change, p.15.

¹⁶⁸ Collins and Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers*, p.11.

¹⁶⁹ http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=rAf4&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&gss=angs-c&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=Alfred&gsfn_x=1&gsln=Hardy&gsln_x=1&msbdy=1822&msbdy_x=1&msbdp=1&MSAV=0&uidh=369&pcat=1871UKI&h=25877196&db=uki1871&indiv=1&ml_rpos=2 Accessed 26 May 2016.

gentleman'.¹⁷⁰ Arguably, this was a status gained (or perhaps claimed) via sporting leisure: a transformation of an individual, running parallel with the transformation of sporting leisure.

¹⁷⁰ http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=rAf2&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=Richard&gsfn_x=1&gsln=Hardy&gsln_x=0&msgdy=1891&msgdy_x=1&msgpn__ftp=Bradford,%20Yorkshire,%20England&msgpn=88611&msgpn_PInfo=8-1010132571325110101015292188611101&msfng=Alfred&msfng_x=1&MSAV=0&uidh=369&gss=angsc&pcat=34&h=4819690&recoff=10%2011%2033%2034&db=WYorkCoEMarriage&indiv=1&ml_rpos=1 Accessed 26 May 2016.

Chapter Two

‘As in Burma or even Bradford Park Avenue’

Bradford Cricket Club 1836-1880

In this chapter Bradford Cricket Club will be shown to have been partly representative of the enormous industrial, physical and social changes that occurred in Bradford during the mid to late nineteenth century. The club, initially dominated by a Tory Anglican elite, embraced elements of pastoralism as the twin forces of Chartism and industrialism raged around it. It will be argued that as Bradford was transformed from a market town to an industrial metropolis, the cricket club was physically, in the case of its home ground, and socially overwhelmed by the changes. Davies and Light claimed that Bradford CC was one of the ‘early type’ of socially exclusive clubs that were replaced by more inclusive clubs during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.¹ This chapter will test that claim by following the history of the club from its formalisation in 1836 through to its move to the Park Avenue grounds in 1880. It will be argued that Bradford Cricket Club is a useful barometer of cricket’s changes and contradictions during an era when elements of respectability, commercialism, elitism and popularity shaped a new cricketing landscape that was more Lowry than Constable.

¹ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.39.

The previous chapter illustrated that continuity in leisure is a stronger theme than might be expected and although Sandiford stated that cricket was 'one of the three major sports that changed least in the post-Hanoverian age' (the other two sports were boxing and horse racing) cricket was to undergo a rapid transformation in the Victorian era.² It could be said that cricket was the link between a unified sporting culture in the early nineteenth century, as theorised by Harvey, and the emergence of commercial spectator sport from the 1880s.³ Cricket, perhaps uniquely in the context of a codified popular spectator sport, straddles both the older, irregular sporting culture of the supposed pre-modern era and the commercialised, and rapidly professionalising, spectator sport of the modern era.

i From Chartism to Capitalism

The changing nature of cricket reflected the changing political landscape during the mid-nineteenth century. Through the 1830s and 1840s the Anglican Tories and Nonconformist Liberals fought for control of Bradford. The incorporation of the town in 1847, a move bitterly opposed by the Tories, was the pivotal moment and one that signalled the beginning of the domination of local politics by the Liberals for half a century. That struggle overarched two

² Keith Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), p.19.

³ Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*.

decades of politics that included Richard Oastler's Factory Movement and the Chartist risings. Despite the restricted franchise politicians were aware of the influence of the working classes on elections via street demonstrations and boycotts of businesses. James claims that Oastler's campaign that highlighted the plight of children's working conditions in mills was an attempt to forge an alliance between the Tories and the working class. Oastler's denunciation of the factory system and his evocation of a harmonious, semi-rural, golden age, where the pace of work was leisurely and deference was the unspoken foundation, resonated with handloom weavers who faced redundancy as mechanisation spread. However, as the Tories refused to support voting rights for the working classes, Oastler's campaign split, rather than galvanised, Bradford's working class reformers.⁴

Between 1838 and 1848 Chartism dominated national politics. It has been described as 'the greatest mass movement of working-class political and social protest in British history'.⁵ The aims of the Chartists were: universal suffrage; annual elections; equally divided electoral districts; payment of MPs; abolition of the property qualification for MPs; vote by secret ballot. D.G. Wright argued that Bradford's working-class radicalism had its roots in the

⁴ James, *Bradford*, pp.40-2.

⁵ D.G. Wright, *The Chartist Risings in Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries & Information Services, 1987), p.1; Malcolm Chase, *Chartism, a new history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.7.

1825 wool-combers and weavers strike.⁶ Support for the Factory Movement, particularly in the late 1830s, and the Anti-Poor Law Movement 'intensified militancy' according to Wright.⁷ Bradford was one of the centres of physical force Chartism with violent risings in 1840, 1842 and 1848.⁸ However, in the wake of the 1842 rising locally chartists split, with some allying themselves with middle-class non-conformists in order to campaign for household suffrage and free trade. Others founded a co-operative store in 1843. During the final rising in 1848 local Tories, according to Wright 'still smarting at their failure to prevent the incorporation of the borough and the subsequent domination of the town council by Liberal reformers', led an assault on the Manchester Road heartland of Bradford's Chartists.⁹ As mechanisation of the textile industry spread the number of hand-combers and weavers declined steeply. This allied to the relative prosperity of the 1850s, fatally undermined Chartism. Activists turned their energies to 'craft unions, teetotal societies, self-help organisations and popular adult education'.¹⁰ Links were forged with middle-class non-conformists such as Titus Salt and W.E. Forster. The foundations of popular Liberalism, and the respectable working class, were laid.

⁶ Wright, *Chartist Risings*, p.5; Alfred Peacock, *Bradford Chartism, 1838-40* (York: York University, 1969), pp.4-5; Jonathan Smith, 'The Strike of 1825', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowett eds., *Victorian Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1982), pp.63-76.

⁷ Wright, *Chartist Risings*, p.7.

⁸ Peacock, *Bradford Chartism*, pp.24-5.

⁹ Wright, *Chartist Risings*, pp.37-48.

¹⁰ Wright, *Chartist Risings*, p.64.

As Bradford developed into an industrial centre, some of the elite appeared to be in a state of denial. As late as the 1840s elements of the establishment were still attempting to replicate a rural and aristocratic lifestyle. From, what Koditschek described as the 'old halls and pseudovillas', they rode out on hunts and in 1842 gathered at Sir John Lister Kaye's estate to convene the annual meeting of the Bradford Coursing Club.¹¹ As the railways brought improved communications a differential began to emerge between Tory Anglican mill owners, who preferred at least semi-rural retreats, and non-conformists who were more likely to live within the town's boundaries, albeit in upper middle-class enclaves.¹² Examples of Tory escapees include: manufacturer John Wood who owned a 3,000-acre estate in Hampshire; banker Charles Harris who purchased Fulford Grange outside York; the Forster's of Black Dyke Mills, Queensbury, who relocated to Hornby Castle in Lancashire; the Garnett's forsook industrial Barkerend for a country house near Ripon.¹³ J.B. Priestley commented on this trend:

I had been brought up in a West Riding industrial community where to a youngster the social hierarchy was invisible. I am not pretending we had a miniature classless society, but we probably came nearer to having one

¹¹ Koditschek, *Class Formation*, p.145.

¹² Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p.135.

¹³ Koditschek, *Class Formation*, p.136.

than anybody born in southern England can ever imagine. Wool men who gambled and won generally left Bradford before they acquired a title and began entertaining the County. If they had come back, a lot of men wearing cloth caps and mufflers would still have called them Sam and Joe.¹⁴

Between 1850 and 1860 the population of Bradford grew by only 3,000, but the value of property increased by £80,000.¹⁵ In 1850 the town was claimed to be ‘the most prosperous place on the face of the earth’.¹⁶ The scale of development can be discerned from the number of plans deposited with Bradford Corporation. In the years 1850 and 1851 plans were received for ninety-four new streets, 1,340 houses, thirty-one mills and warehouses, eighty-four shops, eleven churches, chapels and schools and 237 other buildings.¹⁷ Between 1852 and 1853 applications were made for seventy-one new streets, 1,772 buildings, which included forty-eight warehouses and mills. In 1854 the figures were sixty-eight new streets, 1,669 buildings, which included thirty-four warehouses and mills.¹⁸ As wealth grew Bradford entered its ‘great period’. A commercial treaty with France in 1860, largely

¹⁴ J.B. Priestley, *Margin Released, a writer's reminiscences and reflections* (Heinemann, 1963), p.7.

¹⁵ Law, *Story of Bradford*, p.242. The value of property had grown by £60,000 between 1841 and 1851.

¹⁶ Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford*, p.2.

¹⁷ Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p.83.

¹⁸ Cudworth, *Historical Notes on the Bradford Corporation*, p.134.

negotiated by the Bradford wool merchant Jacob Behrens, led to a decade of continuous growth. It reached its peak in 1872 when £40m of woollen and worsted materials was exported from Bradford to overseas markets. Law said 'large fortunes were made ... and the prosperity also spread downwards and lead to rises in wages and more regular employment'. A doctor is reported to have noted an improvement in general health and more children being sent to school rather than working in the mills.¹⁹

As Bradford developed into an international trading city it is perhaps unsurprising that the architecture of the public buildings, although largely representative of the tastes of Victorian Britain, had international influences.²⁰ Those constructed in the mid-century, such as the Court House and St. George's Hall looked to Ancient Greece and Rome and were of the classical style.²¹ As architectural fashion changed Bradford's buildings took their inspiration from the Italian renaissance and the Flemish wool and worsted centres. Indeed, Briggs stated that it was the Venetian Gothic style of the Flemish wool and worsted centres of Bruges, Ghent and Antwerp that

¹⁹ Law, *Story of Bradford*, pp.243-4.

²⁰ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, p.171.

²¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire the West Riding* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959), p.124. On the opening of the hall in 1853 Bradford's mayor Samuel Smith compared St. George's Hall to Birmingham Town Hall and London's Exeter Hall. Pevsner judged Bradford St. George's Hall to be a poor relation of Liverpool's St. George's Hall and Birmingham Town Hall.

provided the inspiration for ‘the warehouse aesthetic of the northern cities’.²² The defining architectural style of Bradford’s warehouses was a *palazzo* style inspired by Richard Cobden’s Manchester warehouse of 1839.²³ The first building developed in this style was the Milligan and Forbes home trade warehouse completed in 1853.²⁴ The triumph of the style came when the Wool Exchange was completed in 1867 with a Venetian Gothic design, with Flemish influences in its tower.²⁵ By the time the Town Hall was erected in 1873 the inclusion of a 220-foot bell tower, modelled on the Campanile of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, came as little surprise in a town whose architectural gaze, perhaps because Bradford had no real historical reference point, was towards the renaissance cities of Italy.²⁶

ii Bradford Cricket Club

²² Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p.155; Mackenzie, ‘German Immigrants’, pp.49-51; John S. Roberts, *Little Germany* (Bradford Art Galleries and Museums, 1977), passim; *Little Germany Conservation Area Assessment* (Bradford Council, 2005), p.30. A large number of the warehouse owners who developed the area were German, hence the name Little Germany.

²³ Hartwell, *Manchester*, p.173; George Sheeran, *The Buildings of Bradford, an illustration architectural history* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p.79; English Heritage, *Manchester, the warehouse legacy, an introduction and guide* (English Heritage, 2002), p.24. Roger Dixon & Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture* (Thames & Hudson, 1978), pp.127-8.

²⁴ John Ayres, *Architecture in Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Civic Society, n.d.), p.33; Geoffrey Manuel, ‘Building Control in Bradford, deposited building plans, their origins and uses with particular reference to Little Germany’, *The Bradford Antiquary*, third series, number five, p.64.

²⁵ Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford*, pp.133-67; Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, pp.169-72. The debate regarding its architectural style was a heated one and involved John Ruskin.

²⁶ Fieldhouse, *Bradford*, p.144; Sheeran, *Buildings of Bradford*, p.76; John James, FSA., *Continuation and Additions to the History of Bradford and its Parish* (Bradford: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866), passim; William Scruton, *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford* (Bradford: 1889), passim; William Scruton, *Bradford Fifty Years Ago* (Bradford: Sewell, 1897), passim.

The formalisation of Bradford Cricket Club in 1836 was part of the wider national development of cricket. The formation and early heartland of cricket was in the south of England, but as Underdown argues by the 1820s a shift in cricket's vitality to the industrial midlands and north was underway.²⁷ Quite how industrial cricket's geographical shift actually was is open to question. Indeed many of the clubs formed during the early to mid nineteenth century were either rural, county towns or in towns that were in the process of industrialising. For example formations in the early part of the century included: Bedale (1828), Easingwold (1829) and Thirsk (1832), as well as Armley, Huddersfield and Wakefield (all 1826).²⁸ Those contradictions are important and form the backdrop to this chapter. Perhaps most striking is that in the eyes of the elite, who dominated the county clubs of Yorkshire and Lancashire, those organisations probably had more in common with the Marylebone Cricket Club than they did with the mass of club cricket that emerged around them.

²⁷ David Underdown, *Start of Play, cricket and culture in eighteenth-century England* (Penguin, 2000), p.209.

²⁸ Robert Stratten Holmes, *The History of Yorkshire County Cricket, 1822-1903* (1904), pp.9-18. Stratten Holmes lists the following formation dates: Sheffield (1751); Leeds (1757); York (1784); Doncaster (1786); Scruton (1797); Wetherby (1797); Howden (1800); Selby (1800); Harewood (1813); Ripon (1813); The Wednesday (1816); Armley (1826); Dewsbury (1826); Halifax (1826); Huddersfield (1826); Wakefield (1826); Woodhouse (1826); Bedale (1828); Easingwold (1829); Dalton (1831); Thirsk (1832); Beverley (1840); Otley (1841); Kellmarsh (1845); Mexborough (1845); Rotherham (1845); Harrogate (1847); Keighley (1848); Scarborough (1848); Redcar (1850); Barnsley (1854).

In the absence of surviving club records researching the origins of cricket in Bradford is reliant on newspaper reports. This brings an element of unreliability into the process as the newspapers probably underreported the amount of cricket being played and would have been reliant on correspondents to submit copy. However, it is evident that by the early 1830s cricket was being played quite extensively within the Bradford district. Between 1832 and 1834 ten clubs are reported as being active: Airedale; Allerton West End; Apperley Bridge; Baildon; Blue Cap; Bowling; Bradford; Bradford Moor; Fairweather Green; Nonpareil (Horton).²⁹ The matches were staged at rural locations on the fringes of the town and on common land. Locations mentioned include Allerton Lee, Apperley Bridge, Baildon Moor, Bradford Moor and Eccleshill Moor.³⁰ It is probable that these were not permanent cricket grounds but were locations with the required area of open land was available where a match could be staged. This was not unique to Bradford. Davies and Light noted, what might be termed, informal games being regularly staged on common land at Leeds, Yeadon and York.³¹ As the population of Bradford had risen from 13,246 in 1801 to 43,527 by 1831, it

²⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 15 Sept. 1832, 13 July 1833, 3 Aug. 1833, 24 Aug. 1833, 5 Oct. 1833, 12 Oct. 1833; *Bradford Observer*, 22 May 1834, 12 June 1834, 19 June 1834, 4 Sept. 1834, 9 Oct. 1834.

³⁰ Robert F. Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket, the origins of league cricket in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (MA thesis, De Montfort University, 2002), p16; *Bradford Observer*, 9 Oct. 1834; Geoff Wilkinson, ed., *A Century of Bradford League Cricket, 1903-2003* (Bradford: Bradford Cricket League, 2003), p.323. The use of moorland was not restricted to Bradford. A York club, established in 1784, played on Heworth Moor. A Leeds club used Woodhouse Moor during 1834. Cricket was played on Yeadon Moor from at least 1850.

³¹ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.37.

could be surmised that the playing of matches on the edge of the town was a response to rapid urbanisation and a difficulty of finding suitable land on which to play. However, as with Bradford Cricket Club's subsequent move in 1839 to a field a mere half a mile from the town centre, it could be the case that playing on common land was an easy option for teams who appear to have been fairly informal in their organisation. Negotiating access with a landowner for irregular and *ad hoc* matches might have simply been beyond the capabilities or inclination of informal clubs.

The formation of Bradford Cricket Club in 1836 is arguably a significant development, as it appears to be the first time a single club begins to be recognised as being the town's sporting representative. The birth of the club came at a time when the town of Bradford was undergoing a period of rapid expansion.³² However, men were still predominantly employed in the home, either as handloom weavers or hand combers. In 1836 the ratio of power-looms to hand-looms in Bradford was 3,000 to 14,000.³³ David James stated that the mechanisation of the worsted production took over half a century. It was not until the 1850s that machinery, and the factory system, completely superseded handlooms.³⁴ With a significant number of men enjoying work

³² Donald Maud, *Bradford Cricket Club* (Bradford, 1973), p.6; Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p. 28.

³³ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p.327n

³⁴ James, *Bradford*, p.28.

patterns that were essentially preindustrial, it is perhaps unsurprising that during this period Bradford Cricket Club was being described in a manner that is pastoral and preindustrial. One of the founders of the club, Jack Flintiff, the landlord of the Hope and Anchor public house situated at the junction of Market Street and Bank Street in the centre of the town, was said to have dressed flamboyantly when travelling to games.³⁵ He is described as wearing light buff kerseymere trousers, a 'prodigious' waistcoat, a coat in the manner between surtout and a top coat square lapped, containing innumerable pockets, a semi-clergyman's hat with the brim turned up and a white silk spotted tie. He would sit outside a coach and four, complete with gaily decorated horses, en route to matches.³⁶ Of course, this could also represent the urban publican taking on a flamboyant persona for commercial purposes. The description of Flintiff was probably penned following the club's first game 'of any consequence' at Wakefield in 1837.³⁷

The club had no settled home ground. While they practiced on a field opposite Ashfield Terrace in Little Horton, the actual games took place at either Fairweather Green or Apperley Bridge, the latter being then a tiny rural village four miles from the town centre. However, in 1839 the club embraced

³⁵ William Scruton, *Bradford Fifty Years Ago* (Bradford: Sewell, 1897), p.97. Scruton pointed out that Flintiff's surname has been frequently misspelt 'Flintoff' by historians.

³⁶ 'Reminiscences of Bradford Cricket Club', *Bradford Observer*, 18 Sept. 1875.

³⁷ Scruton, *Bradford Fifty Years Ago*, pp.57-8.

both their hometown and links to industrialism when they secured a field less than half a mile from the town centre in the emerging middle class suburb of Little Horton.³⁸ The ground was adjacent to Mannville, home of the textile family the Manns who were patrons of the club.³⁹ A 'rickety' former cowshed was converted to house dressing rooms, a smoking room, parlour, kitchen and storage facilities.⁴⁰

Bradford's matches were played on Mondays and Tuesdays, and regular attendances in the low thousands suggests that effective labour discipline was not as advanced as it would become and that allowed the club to attract a popular support. Prior to the introduction of large-scale machine-powered industry work was, as E.P. Thompson argued, often task based rather than time based, and within such a structure the working day could be shortened or lengthened.⁴¹ By 1841 there were sixty-seven textile mills in Bradford. It has been claimed that the new time discipline was rigorously imposed in the textile industry, but it has to be remembered that the textile mills had a large percentage of female and child workers, so perhaps the attendances at the

³⁸ George Sheeran, *The Victorian Houses of Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1990), p.10. Middle class housing began to be constructed on the lower part of Little Horton Lane around 1839 following the sale of land belonging to the Giles family.

³⁹ Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution*, p.177. Thomas Mann was the first stuff merchant to live in Bradford and he erected Mannville House.

⁴⁰ 'Reminiscences of Bradford Cricket Club', *Bradford Observer*, 18 Sept. 1875.

⁴¹ E.P. Thompson, 'Time, work discipline and industrial capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38 (1), 1967, p.71.

weekday matches reflect both that demographic and the fact that regulated working hours did not appear the moment the first mill opened its doors.⁴²

Prior to the standardisation of the working week some, mostly skilled, workers would absent themselves from work on a Monday if finances allowed it. This casual extension of Sunday became known as Saint Monday. The playing of cricket on a Monday could be a sign that Saint Monday was practiced in Bradford. Supporting evidence presented by Kirby, quoted an 1842 children's employment commission report, which stated that, in Bradford and Leeds, Monday was chiefly spent by adults' drinking or recovering from the effects of it.⁴³ Reid suggested that it was the Saturday half-holiday that fatally undermined Saint Monday, but cautions that Saint Monday was eroded rather than demolished.⁴⁴ That claim is supported by evidence such as an 1866 test case brought at Wakefield Court House that attempted to compel miners at a colliery at Altofts near Castleford to work a full week. It was reported that miners and shoemakers of the district were not only 'in the habit of keeping Saint Monday', but additionally Tuesdays and Saturdays. Although the case was lost on a technicality, the sympathy of the

⁴² Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford*, p.140.; E.P. Thompson, 'Time, work discipline', p.85.

⁴³ Peter Kirby, 'Miner absenteeism and customary holidays in the Great Northern Coalfield, 1775-1864', *Manchester Papers in Economic and Social History*, 65, 2009, p.6.

⁴⁴ Douglas Reid, 'The decline of Saint Monday 1766-1876', *Past and Present*, 71 (1), 1976, p.86; Crump, *Amusements of the People*, pp.29-32.

court was clearly with the employer.⁴⁵ As late as 1874 a Dr. Boyd claimed in a speech at Exeter that the observance of Saint Monday by workers in the woollen, cotton and building trades cost the country £7.4m in lost revenue.⁴⁶ Although corroborating such a claim is impossible, a picture is emerging of greater flexibility in the working week than might be imagined.⁴⁷

Bradford Cricket Club's new ground at Manville gave the club the opportunity to introduce a measure of social segregation with the charging for admission and it was reported that 'manufacturers, merchants, tradesmen and amateurs' (the latter being presumably gentlemen) became members. The move into central Bradford does appear to mark a step change in the club's outlook and prospects. By 1840 two professional bowlers were engaged, one round arm and the other under arm.⁴⁸ Despite the presence of professionals in the club's ranks, the Victorian obsession with respectability appears with regularity from the 1840s and it was to remain a constant theme in the history of Bradford Cricket Club for nearly three quarters of century. In July 1840 The *Bradford Observer* stated:

⁴⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 16 Aug. 1866.

⁴⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 1 Dec. 1874.

⁴⁷ John. K Walton, 'The demand for working-class seaside holidays in Victorian England', *Economic History Review*, second series, 34 (1981), pp.249-65; John K. Walton, 'Holidays and the discipline of industrial labour: a historians view', E. Kennedy and H. Pussard, eds., *Defining the Field: 30 years of the Leisure Studies Association* (Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, 2006), pp.121-134. Saint Monday discussed in the context of working class holidaymaking at the British seaside. Illustrating how wide ranging Saint Monday could be.

⁴⁸ 'Reminiscences of Bradford Cricket Club', *Bradford Observer*, 18 Sept. 1875.

We are given to understand that the Bradford Club is determined to maintain the high character they have obtained by the same straightforward and honourable conduct which they have always acted upon, which is, to meet their competitors with their own members, and with their own exclusivity. They will not on any account hire superior players from any other club, and they would say to all competitors – do so likewise.⁴⁹

Bailey argued that cricket was viewed as a civilising influence on the new industrial towns, even claiming that the game could be credited with disciplining spectators and participants.⁵⁰ The evidence presented earlier regarding the prevalence of Saint Monday in Bradford and the playing of cricket on Mondays could be used to state that early cricket in the town was actually damaging work discipline rather than reinforcing it as Bailey suggests. However, contemporary reports at least attempted to encourage civil behaviour. One example being a *Bradford Observer* report on the behaviour of a crowd watching a match with Halifax in August 1839, it said the visitors had been treated with ‘the greatest civility by the large concourse of spectators’.⁵¹ The praising of local institutions is a recurring theme in

⁴⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 1 July 1840.

⁵⁰ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* (Routledge-Kegan Paul, 1978), p.137.

⁵¹ *Bradford Observer*, 25 July 1839.

Victorian newspapers. Of course, the role of local newspapers was crucial in facilitating and popularising the contests.⁵² Unsurprisingly, the newspapers themselves were drawn into a commercial and professional rivalry. This was illustrated in 1839 in the wake of Dalton Mills', Huddersfield, defeat of Bradford in, what had been advertised as, the 'championship of Yorkshire'. The Huddersfield correspondent of the *Halifax Guardian and Huddersfield and Bradford Advertiser*, taunted their rival newspaper, the *Bradford Herald*, when it failed to report the defeat of Bradford.⁵³

While describing improvements to the ground the following year, the *Bradford Observer* took the opportunity to reinforce the respectable nature of the club:

Since last summer, extensive alterations and improvements have been effected in the Bradford ground – such as the erection of new sheds, railings, and a greatly improved play-ground – at a very heavy expenditure. These necessary alterations have been made at the wish of an influential and respectable class of supporters, and there is little doubt but a fortunate season will repay this outlay ... it is expected that at least 120 genuine subscribers will be secured.⁵⁴

⁵² Donald Read, *Press and People, 1790-1850, opinion in three English cities* (Edward Arnold, 1961), pp.59-107.

⁵³ *Halifax Guardian and Huddersfield and Bradford Advertiser*, 13 August 1842; Light, *Cricket's Forgotten Past*, p.50.

⁵⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 1 June 1843.

The earlier reference to using exclusively their own players, followed by expectations that the club would attract a large number of 'genuine' subscribers, is probably an unsubtle attack on the practices of other clubs. However, during this era clubs regularly negotiated the composition of teams to ensure that games would be competitive and this was often related to betting practices. There are many examples in newspaper reports. During a match with Knaresborough it was revealed that the visiting players were offering odds of two to one on the outcome of the match.⁵⁵ In the return match at Knaresborough odds of four to one were offered to the Bradford players.⁵⁶ The wagers attracted no adverse comments, but given that betting was an integral part of the sporting culture, this is no surprise. The late Victorian moralising and opposition to betting was a generation away.

Bradford Cricket Club appears to have been dominated by the town's Anglican Tory elite which reflected the political power structures in Bradford during the era. This pattern is suggested by a report on the club's intention to organise a 'grand ball'. The *Bradford Observer* noted of the cricket club that 'it numbers about 150 "good and true" members, possesses an extensive

⁵⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 1 June 1843.

⁵⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 20 Aug. 1840.

influence, and is in a prosperous position.’⁵⁷ The patrons for Bradford Cricket Club’s ‘annual dress ball’ were: Lord John Manners, Tory MP for Newark and a leading figure in Disraeli’s Young England movement, who toured industrial districts in 1844 advocating public holidays, factory reform and the allotment system; Wm. Busfield Ferrand, Esq., the Bingley born Tory MP for Knaresborough, another of the Young England group, who had failed to gain election as Bradford’s MP in 1837; Captain Thomas H. Horsfall of Hawksworth Hall; Joshua Mann Esq., a stuff merchant and chairman of the Bradford Subscription concerts and whose family owned Mannville House adjacent to the cricket ground; his brother John Mann Esq. of Boldshay Hall; and Joshua Pollard, J.P. and Tory councillor.⁵⁸ Such overt Tory backing of the local cricket club was probably reflective of the deliberate identification with outdoor popular culture, which was designed to distance the Conservatives from the Liberal moral reformists. In one instance it was claimed that the strongly non-conformist Liberals, with links to the temperance movement, would ‘rob the British workman of his beer’. This stance would help define politics in the popular imagination until at least the turn of the century and

⁵⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 24 Oct. 1844.

⁵⁸ William Cudworth, *Rambles Round Horton* (Bradford, 1886), pp.66-7; Koditschek, *Class Formation*, p.136, p.561; Wright, *Chartist Risings*, p.48. Pollard led police and militia action in suppressing Chartist risings in Bradford during the 1840s.

became vital to Conservative electoral success in the wake of the 1867 enfranchisement of urban working class voters.⁵⁹

Anticipating the ball the *Bradford Observer* reflected on the achievements of the cricket club, claiming that its ethos was:

Amusement to all classes ... the creation of a spirit of emulation in other clubs, by selecting the best men in the neighbourhood to practice with and take part in matches ... by this system ... the Bradford Cricket Club had thus witnessed springing up around them a large number of clubs ... the present club can now be considered second to none in Yorkshire ... the club numbers about 150 subscribers, including the elite of our gentry. It is gratifying thus to be able to trace the establishment, growth, and history of such a society, which appears to have kept pace with the wants of the times, and when mills and manufacturers are making such rapid growth, participation in healthy amusements tend generally to improve the physical and mental condition of society.⁶⁰

The evidence suggests that Bradford was one of, what Davies and Light described as, a 'growing number of local clubs that were formed as societal

⁵⁹ Jon Lawrence, 'Class and gender in the making of urban Toryism, 1880-1914', *English Historical Review*, July 1993, pp.634-636.

⁶⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 28 Nov. 1844.

institutions for the expanding middle classes'.⁶¹ Clubs such as Bradford and Keighley were representative of this development and both used, to some extent, subscription fees to impose social exclusivity. In 1848 Keighley CC charged playing members 2s 6d entrance fee and an annual subscription of 7s 6d. For honorary members the subscription was 10s 6d.⁶² By 1844 Bradford Cricket Club was recognised as the town's sporting representative. It appears to be the first time this had occurred, representing both the rise of the importance of sporting leisure and the town of Bradford itself. Civic status could only be bestowed on a club that reflected the respectability of the leading citizens. Light described the process by which clubs such as Bradford were able to become the civic flag carriers:

The emergence of a generation of clubs in the major towns during the 1830s and 1840s saw competition intensify further ... these new organisations were almost certainly led by members of the commercial middle classes. Clubs like Leeds Victoria, Halifax Clarence and Bradford ... by adopting the identity of leading towns and staging events that received a high media profile they also assumed a prestigious

⁶¹ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp.31-2.

⁶² Robert F. Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket, the origins of league cricket in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (MA thesis, De Montfort University, 2002), pp.40-1.

persona, which would have been beyond any predominantly working-class organisation.⁶³

The cricket club as a byword for respectability could have been the reason why the new landlord of the Clarence Hotel, Tumbling Hill Street, (a short walk from the cricket ground) felt compelled to mention in an 1858 advertisement that he was 'of Bradford Cricket Club'.⁶⁴ However, it was more likely that he was using his association with the cricket club to attract custom to the public house. It illustrates that as early as 1858 membership of one of Bradford's leading sporting organisations was worthy of comment and that must tell us something of the standing of Bradford Cricket Club. If it was an early example of an individual exploiting his sporting links to his commercial advantage, it offers an interesting parallel with the staging of sports at public houses, as outlined in the previous chapter with Alfred Hardy at the Quarry Gap Inn, and in the current chapter with the Hope and Anchor landlord's central role in the formation of Bradford Cricket Club.

Cricket attendances grew steadily throughout the late Victorian period. As Sandiford discerned, crowds at county matches expanded from around two to three thousand in the 1840s to an average of four thousand in the 1860s and

⁶³ Light, *Cricket's Forgotten Past*, p.148.

⁶⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 27 May 1858.

by the 1880s five figure attendances could be attracted to the more popular matches.⁶⁵ Reports in the local press did not always refer to attendances, but the evidence that does appear supports Sandiford's conclusions. For example when Bradford met Halifax in July 1839 the crowd fluctuated between two and four thousand throughout the day.⁶⁶ In 1840 crowds of around three thousand were in attendance to witness the climax of the play in matches against Otley and Knaresborough.⁶⁷ The following year attendances estimated at up to 4,000 witnessed matches against Leeds and Dalton.⁶⁸ The reports suggest that the numbers fluctuated as the matches progressed with the greatest numbers being present when Bradford was poised for victory.

The facilities Bradford Cricket Club was developing could be utilised for public spectacles, with attendant profits. One such event was a 'great pyrotechnic fete' held in June 1844. Alongside the fireworks a balloon race was planned and the Bradford Temperance Brass Band was to play. An advertisement announcing the admission prices, and entry arrangements, is a mix of commercialism and social segregation. Ladies and gentlemen were to be charged 6d., with entrance at the top gate; working people and children 3d., entrance by the lower gate. A space was allocated for carriages from

⁶⁵ Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp.112-3; Keith Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds During the Victorian Age', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (winter 1982), pp.6-7.

⁶⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 25 July 1839.

⁶⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 9 July 1840; 6 Aug. 1840.

⁶⁸ *Bradford Observer*, 22 July 1841; 5 Aug. 1841.

where the occupants could witness the display 'without alighting'.⁶⁹ The use of cricket grounds for ancillary events appears to have been fairly common, both as a valuable income stream and a way of cementing the club's image as a central part of the civic identity. Other events held at the cricket ground included the Bradford Floral and Horticultural Society exhibition that had previously taken place in the Wool Exchange building and annual exhibition of the Bradford Association for Improving the Breed of Pigs and Poultry..⁷⁰

As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, during the early 1850s Bradford was experiencing a construction boom. Between 1850 and 1854 applications were made to develop 233 new streets and 5,144 buildings. One of those new streets ran across the site of the Bradford cricket ground and at the end of the 1851 season the ground was sold for the construction of substantial middle class villas. The road serving the villas was named Claremont. This development was part of a trend by, what Gaskell described as, carriage owning middle class families who were moving to ever greater distances from the town centres.⁷¹ Rapid development forced clubs such as Bradford to relocate and even, as Walvin argued, reduced the opportunities

⁶⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 27 June 1844.

⁷⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, 13 Sept. 1849, *Leeds Mercury*, 20 June 1850.

⁷¹ S. Martin Gaskell, 'Housing and the Lower Middle Class, 1870-1914', Geoffrey Crossick, ed., *The Lower Middle Class in Britain* (Croom Helm, 1977), p.159.

for sport to be played as open spaces were utilised for development.⁷² The expansion of Bradford, and in particular the middle class area of Manningham, will be returned to in a later chapter. In 1860 the composer Frederick Delius, whose father was a German born wool merchant, was born at 6 Claremont.⁷³ The cricket club moved to a field behind Claremont barely an off-drive from their former home. Living adjacent to the cricket ground perhaps explains Delius's lifelong love of the game.

I remember as a very little boy playing cricket on the waste land at the bottom of Claremont with a big stone for the wickets, and how I hated having to go in on summer evenings at about half-past eight before it was dark.⁷⁴

iii Cricket, the first commercial team spectator sport

During the 1840s professional cricketers challenged the hegemony the gentry had previously enjoyed over the game. It could be stated that cricket's first

⁷² James Walvin, *Leisure and Society* (Longman, 1978), p.4; Croll, *Civilizing the Urban*, p.142.

⁷³ Bradford Libraries, local studies, 'Frederick Delius: life and times in Bradford', www.bradlibs.com/localstudies/delius/pages/claremont.htm accessed 11 Nov. 2012. In 1861 five German families were in residence in the eighteen houses. By 1871 that number had risen to eight German families in twenty houses. Twelve heads of the households were either merchants or manufacturers in the wool trade; Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p.69. Hall claims Frederick Delius played cricket 'enthusiastically' in his youth.

⁷⁴ Lionel Carley, *Delius, a life in letters* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1988), p.379.

obviously national and overtly commercial development came with the formation of the All-England XI in 1846. The brainchild of William Clarke, the founder of Nottinghamshire's Trent Bridge ground, his touring team, comprising the cream of Victorian cricket, exploited the spread of the railway network to play the game at a level previously unseen in many districts. This had, according to Underdown, a particularly significant impact on the development of the game in the northern counties.⁷⁵ John Major claimed that 'their role in promoting the game north of Nottingham was pivotal'.⁷⁶ West concurs stating:

Its influence on the development of English cricket was of inestimable value in converting what was a largely local pastime into a national sport.⁷⁷

Arguably, what the All-England XI represented was not so much the spread of the game, but the commercial exploitation, admittedly on a national scale, of an already popular pastime. Indeed, the economic imperatives of the All-England XI effectively restricted their activities to locations where an existing paying public would make the contests commercially viable. Of course, the

⁷⁵ Underdown, *Start of Play*, p.209.

⁷⁶ John Major, *More Than a Game, the story of cricket's early years* (Harper Perennial, 2007), p.183.

⁷⁷ G. Derek West, *The Elevens of England* (Darf Publishers, 1988), p.1.

commercialisation of cricket was not invented by William Clarke and the All-England XI, but as Birley put it 'all he had done was discover the seam ... the cricket industry, like the textile, had moved out of its cottage'.⁷⁸ Although they were not cricketing missionaries as such, they would have displayed high levels of technical ability which watching players and spectators would have been inspired to copy and emulate. This theory is given credence by Robert Stratten Holmes. He wrote in 1904 that the All-England XI 'gave an impetus to the game all over the country, more especially in Yorkshire, where their appearances were very frequent'.⁷⁹

Several imitators of the original All-England XI were formed, and toured relatively successfully for a couple of decades: The United All England XI, the United South of England XI and the United North of England XI being the most prominent. Frederick Delius recalled watching the United South of England XI play Bradford in 1873.⁸⁰ The main attraction of the game was the opportunity of seeing W.G. Grace make his first appearance in Bradford. He was loudly cheered when he emerged from the dressing tent, but in only the third over of the day Bradford's professional George Ulyett bowled Grace for two runs. Even the *Bradford Observer* described it as a 'catastrophe' but noted

⁷⁸ Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket* (Arum, 1999), p.89.

⁷⁹ Stratten Holmes, *Yorkshire County Cricket*, p.123.

⁸⁰ Carley, *Delius*, p.379.

that the crowd greeted the dismissal with cheers.⁸¹ Grace fared little better in the second innings. He had made his way to twenty-seven when Ulyett was brought into the attack. With his first ball he flattened Grace's middle stump and was rewarded with a sovereign.⁸² Bradford, playing with eighteen players, won the match and enjoyed gate receipts of £280.

Aside from matches against club sides, the itinerant elevens frequently played one another in benefit matches. Intriguingly, United South and United North met in a series of games that appear to have been staged purely for profit. They were played in the early 1870s with four of the seven matches being staged in the north at Hunslet, Todmorden, Huddersfield and Hull.⁸³ It is tempting to ponder why the itinerant elevens did not organise a regular fixture list against one another and thereby form a national league? Two factors were against this development: firstly there was no template, the oldest sporting league in the world is believed to be the American Baseball League which was founded in 1876; in Britain the Football League did not come into existence until 1888.⁸⁴ Secondly, even the itinerant elevens had links to the cricketing establishment, for example the president of the United North

⁸¹ *Bradford Observer*, 24 June 1873.

⁸² Carley, Delius, p.379; *Bradford Observer*, 26 June 1873.

⁸³ West, *Elevens of England*, pp.154-66.

⁸⁴ Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp.134-42; Mason, *Association Football*, pp.16-17.

was Lord Londesborough, who was also a patron of Yorkshire County Cricket Club.⁸⁵ In an era of challenge matches, and their widely understood economic model, it is no surprise that the elevens did not formalise their meetings. Their legacy was the embrace of the commercial opportunities offered by the visit of the All-England XI by not only the host cricket club, but also printers, suppliers of marquees, caterers and publicans.⁸⁶ Undoubtedly, the touring elevens with their star players, celebrated and sustained by a growing popular and sporting press, were a huge attraction. The All-England XI players were among the vanguard of truly national sporting personalities in the context of commercialised team sport. However, their matches, when viewed from the individual towns, were infrequent visitations and were arguably more akin to a travelling circus than club cricket matches which were becoming ever more representations of communal pride.

The era of the itinerant elevens coincided with, what Musgrove claimed was the 'triumphant age for the north of England'.⁸⁷ Russell wrote that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the previously often marginal north moved to the forefront of the nation's economic and political life.⁸⁸ The north, argued Turner, developed a significant self-image and began to demand

⁸⁵ West, *Elevens of England*, p.126.

⁸⁶ West, *Elevens of England*, p.21; Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.58.

⁸⁷ Musgrove, *North of England*, p.263.

⁸⁸ Russell, *Looking North*, p.24.

recognition as the powerhouse of the British economy.⁸⁹ It was in the industrial north that the All-England XI enjoyed their greatest popularity and it was here that civic representation via the medium of sport began to manifest itself. That sense of place, underpinned by a highly competitive capitalist society, especially in the industrial north where towns and cities grew in close proximity and were engaged in fierce rivalries, which were often a powerful mix of trade and civic aggrandisement, undermined the appeal of the exhibition cricket of the All-England XI.

Underdown forwarded an alternative theory that the public became disenchanted with the itinerant elevens 'after years of watching famous players monotonously destroying the local teams who tried their luck against them'.⁹⁰ However, the briefest analysis of West's summary of the elevens' first class matches illustrates very mixed results.⁹¹ Underdown does identify a vitally significant point when he states that spectators wanted games that 'transcended the individual performances of the players, or even the amount of money to be won and lost betting on them'.⁹² The rootless elevens lacked a sense of geographical identity and it prevented the elevens developing, and

⁸⁹ Graham Turner, *The North Country* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967), p.391.

⁹⁰ Underdown, *Start of Play*, p.96.

⁹¹ West, *Elevens of England*, pp.154-66.

⁹² Underdown, *Start of Play*, p.96.

exploiting, regular income streams that would become a central feature of cricket, football and rugby in the late Victorian period.⁹³

iv Cricket's North-South Schism

The list of attendees at Bradford Cricket Club's dress ball indicates there were elements among the nouveau riche industrialists who wished to acquire gentility and respectability via association with organisations such as the cricket club. Birley discerned a similar pattern in Manchester.⁹⁴ John Major recognised that 'teams such as Manchester, Bradford, Leeds and Birmingham nurtured fine players and had rich backers'.⁹⁵ However, that wealth had been gained in the ruthless environment of the new industrial cities. Many of the men who led northern cricket were aware of the commercial opportunities offered by a combination of sport as a vehicle to feed civic rivalries and exploit rapidly growing populations who were enjoying increased leisure time. The civic, club and commercial had the potential to combine to give birth to a codified, rapidly professionalising team sport with mass spectator appeal. In the decade before the counties asserted themselves onto the sport, the structure of cricket, particularly in the industrialised north and midlands,

⁹³ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.58.

⁹⁴ Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket* (Arum, 1999), p.102.

⁹⁵ Major, *More Than a Game*, p.183.

was developing in a manner that is usually ascribed to rugby and football up to half a century later.

These developments sparked debates and language that would become familiar during football's defining moment, which led to the adoption of professionalism in 1885 and rugby's calamitous split ten years later. The northern cricket professionals who regularly absented themselves from representing their counties, particularly when they had southern fixtures, in favour of turning out for itinerant elevens in the north or as professionals in club cricket, came under sustained criticism. The financial practicalities, and the realities of the cost of daily living, was overlooked by critics such as the Harrow educated Sussex and Middlesex amateur, MCC member, historian and biographer, Arthur Haygarth. When one unnamed critic widened the attack to include 'gate money speculators' it appears that opposition to commercialism had joined the debate.⁹⁶

In the north there was resentment towards Haygarth, but also against southern cricket in general. Two counties, Yorkshire and Surrey, epitomised the divide and the symbolism of a game between the two counties was used as a vehicle for protest. Five Yorkshire professionals refused to play against Surrey at Bramall Lane in 1865 and the Sheffield Club, the principal

⁹⁶ West, *Elevens of England*, pp.96-100.

controllers of Yorkshire cricket, banned the players. There was widespread sympathy for the rebellious five and Bradford, perhaps with the added ingredient of civic rivalry, invited the players to play for Yorkshire against Nottinghamshire and Cambridgeshire in matches organised by the Bradford Club. In 1866, with Sheffield refusing to host county cricket, Yorkshire played only two home games, both at Bradford. However, by 1868 the rebels and the Sheffield Club had made their peace and Bramall Lane returned to being the heart of Yorkshire cricket. Matches against Surrey resumed in 1870.⁹⁷

Given that disputes with similar ingredients in rugby and football led to actual or threatened geographical splits, it might be fair to ask why cricket did not follow a similar pattern. There was a brief period when the town clubs of the north and midlands could have become the rallying point for community identity and changed the entire structure of cricket. Birley argued:

Town clubs in places like Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool and Manchester might have expected to become the dominant organisations of the future.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ West, *Elevens of England*, p.110.

⁹⁸ Birley, *Social History of English Cricket*, p.83.

Bateman acknowledges that the 'possibility' existed for cricket to follow a 'business orientated path similar to American baseball'.⁹⁹ However, there is no contemporary evidence that such a development was discussed.¹⁰⁰ The prestige of being the home of the county club, especially in Yorkshire where the sense of belonging to the county was, and still remains, such an integral part of a wider identity, meant that a cricketing revolution where the town clubs would form a national competition was not even contemplated. There seems to have been almost universal deference to the county club. Indeed, the, at times, unseemly, fight between towns to host county matches illustrates the dominance of the county club. Why cricket did not develop along town club lines is an interesting academic debate, but it has almost no grounding in historical reality. For thirty years Bradford, Dewsbury, Hunslet, Middlesbrough and York, with varying success, staged alternative county matches. In 1864 Kent initially cancelled a fixture with Yorkshire, expressing their frustration as to not knowing who was to represent the white rose county. In the event they played 'Yorkshire' at Bradford. Between 1863 and 1866 Bradford staged twelve 'Yorkshire' matches, albeit without the blessing of the Yorkshire County Cricket Club's committee. As the 1866 *Cricketers'*

Companion noted:

⁹⁹ Anthony Bateman and Jeffrey Hill, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Cricket* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.7.

¹⁰⁰ Jeffrey Hill, 'League cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940', Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 136. Hill asserts that the later league cricket never 'considered a rebellion against the prevailing order in cricket'.

At Bradford there is a most energetic committee and a liberal subscription list, and for several seasons the matches with Nottinghamshire and Cambridgeshire have been played there. The ground, though good and advantageously situated (in Horton Lane) is too confined for first class matches ... An enlargement is contemplated, and this done, Bradford will enjoy, as it deserves, a fair share of county cricket.¹⁰¹

The key phrase is 'a fair share'. Bradford was not attempting a coup, although it was not until 1873 that 'the county club's authority was recognised and accepted'. Sheffield was undoubtedly Yorkshire County Cricket Club's *de facto* home venue from a much earlier date.¹⁰² County committees and the county membership regarded the three-day match format as sacrosanct, which allowed the game, at its highest level, to remain 'frozen in a neo-feudal posture'.¹⁰³ As work discipline tightened the fact a significant proportion of the play in every county match took place midweek prevented the involvement of the working class amateur player. This ensured that county cricket became a sport primarily for the wealthy, bolstered by paid

¹⁰¹ Stratten-Holmes, *Yorkshire County Cricket*, p.43.

¹⁰² Derek Hodgson, *The Official History of Yorkshire County Cricket Club* (Marlborough: Crowood, 1989), p.21.

¹⁰³ Birley, *Social History of English Cricket*, p.118.

professionals. Even then the amateur gentlemen kept the professionals at a discreet distance with separate dressing rooms and even different entrances to the field of play. A place on the committee of a club such as Bradford brought with it localised status, but it paled into insignificance when alignment with the county club offered the opportunity to rub shoulders with Lord Londesborough at Yorkshire or the Earl of Sefton at Lancashire. Here was a direct route to the gilded cage of British society. For men whose wealth had been earned, and therefore in some eyes tainted, by commerce and industry it must have been irresistible.¹⁰⁴

Had a determined push been made for one, or even two day, matches, designed around the newly won leisure time of the working classes, perhaps county cricket could, as Birley pondered, have become a genuine complement to football.¹⁰⁵ In due course that is what happened with club cricket in the largely industrial areas of the north and midlands with the development of a myriad of leagues, among the best known being the Birmingham, Bradford and the Lancashire Leagues.¹⁰⁶ These developments occurred in the

¹⁰⁴ Jon Lawrence, 'Class and gender in the making of urban Toryism, 1880-1914', *English Historical Review*, July 1993, p.632. Lawrence makes a similar point regarding the 'Tory democracy' movement of wealthy provincial manufacturers 'anxious to secure recognition within a Conservative party still dominated by the landed interest'.

¹⁰⁵ Birley, *Social History of English Cricket*, p.118.

¹⁰⁶ Other examples include: Bolton League, Bolton Association, Central Lancashire, Huddersfield, Leeds, North Yorkshire & South Durham, Pudsey & District, Spen Valley, West Riding, West Riding Central, West Yorkshire. The development of cricket leagues will be returned to in chapter five.

heartlands of the Football League and the Northern Union. The parallels are striking and yet the cricket leagues, unlike their football and rugby contemporaries, did not expand beyond their relatively localised horizons. That failure was probably due to the fact that cricket did not produce enough revenue in a four-month season, and was especially vulnerable to wet weather, to make a semi-professional game a realistic prospect.¹⁰⁷ Working class players, who would be the obvious seam to tap for playing talent, would have struggled to balance work commitments with three-day cricket matches. In 1895 rugby would be split asunder by demands for compensation payments for players missing half days at work. When viewed in that context, professional, or even semi-professional, cricket on a national scale was totally impractical unless one-day cricket was adopted. Economics and deference to the status and historic structures of cricket ensured that such a revolutionary idea was not only still born. It had to wait until the late twentieth century and the arrival of overtly commercial one day cricket driven by sponsorship and gate money, such as: Gillette Cup 1963; John Player League 1968; Benson & Hedges Cup 1972.

v The Road to Park Avenue

¹⁰⁷ Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds', p.9. Sandiford identified the weather, size of ground, form of the home team and nature of the contest as being crucial elements in attracting a paying public.

The 1860s and 1870s saw Bradford Cricket Club decline to the very brink of extinction. By 1874 the expansion of the middle class district of Little Horton had seen the club's ground sold and built upon leading the club into a merger with Bradford Rugby Club and the development of a new ground in 1880 which was called Bradford Park Avenue.

In 1861 the *Bradford Observer* was lamenting the decline in numbers of gentlemen players and the fact that unless younger players emerged the club would 'lose its proud position in the cricketing world'.¹⁰⁸ Seven years later a letter writer bemoaned the fact that little first class cricket was now being staged in the town and blamed a lack of support stating, 'no matter how much the people of Bradford love out-door sports, they love their pockets much better'.¹⁰⁹ The cricket club identified that one way of improving the finances of the club was by organising an athletics festival. Such events were an established part of the Victorian sporting calendar and athletes would travel across the country to take part in the festivals. Graham Williams claims that it was Liverpool Athletics Club (formed 1862) who popularised the staging of athletics festivals.¹¹⁰ Their 'Olympic Festival' held in June 1862 is

¹⁰⁸ *Bradford Observer*, 9 May 1861.

¹⁰⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 30 Apr. 1868.

¹¹⁰ Graham Williams, *The Code War, English football under the historical spotlight* (Harefield: Yore, 1994), p.25; *Huddersfield Cricket & Athletic Club Grand Bazaar*, (Huddersfield, 1895), p.75. Huddersfield Library, local studies, B796. Huddersfield Athletic Club was formed on 16 Nov. 1864 and held its first athletic festival on 24 June 1865.

reported to have attracted 10,000 spectators and grew to, what Peter Lovesey described as, 'a scale greater than anything seen in the south'.¹¹¹

Bradford Cricket Club's first athletics festival was held in July 1869. Between three and four thousand spectators enjoyed fourteen events, including hammer throwing, hurdling, shot putting, walking and running races. Six gold medals, two silver cups, fourteen silver medals and fourteen bronze medals were competed for. The *Bradford Observer* reported that the grandstand 'presented a really brilliant spectacle, being crowded with ladies in gay attire ... it is probable that there will be a handsome surplus for the funds of Bradford Cricket Club'.¹¹² When the foundation stone of the new town hall was laid, with great public ceremony, in 1870 the cricket club placed a large notice on the side of an adjacent building advertising their athletic festival.¹¹³ By the time of the club's fifth annual athletic festival in July 1873 the club appears to have become reliant on the profits of the festival in order to remain solvent. The 1873 festival, which was witnessed by a reported six thousand spectators, earned the club £150 10s; which equates to 14.5% of the club's income for the year. Without the windfall the club would have lost £36

¹¹¹ Peter Lovesey, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletics Association* (Enfield: Guinness Superlatives, 1979), pp.16-18.

¹¹² *Bradford Observer*, 26 July 1869; Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds', p.17; *Huddersfield Cricket & Athletic Club Grand Bazaar*, p.77. Reports of fashionable crowds appears to have been widespread and probably was used as an attempt to raise the status of the host club.

¹¹³ Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p.85.

2s 8d.¹¹⁴ As Budd, Gregson and Huggins have demonstrated this was a widespread pattern across the north of England and is illustrative of the precarious nature of cricket club finances.¹¹⁵

Cricket clubs are especially vulnerable during spells of inclement weather. Indeed Bradford suffered heavy financial losses when a number of county matches were washed out. The club was so wary of a repeat that they decided against hosting first class matches. In parallel several supporters of the club, Colonel Hirst and Captain Bankhart being specifically named, withdrew from day-to-day involvement with the club. The *Bradford Observer* claimed that the huge growth of the Volunteer movement in the town, and the fact that the cricket club had become 'too much of a gentlemen's association', had combined to plunge the club into decline.¹¹⁶ The newspaper alleged that the club had ignored the talents of working class players. The article concluded it was essential that the cricket club should adopt a meritocratic approach. The club, it was argued, might then be in a position to 'uplift once more the

¹¹⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 8 Nov. 1873.

¹¹⁵ Catherine Anne Budd, *The Growth of an Urban Sporting Culture – Middlesbrough, c.1870-1914* (PhD. thesis, De Montfort University, 2012), p.287; Keith Gregson and Mike Huggins, 'Ashbrooke Whit Sports, Sunderland and its records: a case study of amateurism in late Victorian and Edwardian athletic and cycling competitions', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 31, issue 9, (June 2014), p.996. Darlington, Durham City, Middlesbrough and North Durham cricket clubs were among many who also used athletic festivals to balance their books.

¹¹⁶ Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force*, p.115.

reputation of Bradford cricket'.¹¹⁷ Such sentiments were perhaps the inevitable conclusions for the town's liberal newspaper, but working class players were increasingly dominating northern club cricket and socially elite clubs would struggle against clubs that were truly meritocratic. It can be convincingly argued that Bradford was representative of, what Davies and Light described, as the 'early type' of club that they argued were in decline by the second quarter of the nineteenth century and were being replaced by more socially inclusive clubs.¹¹⁸

Bradford's situation was made all the more perilous because its home ground was again in danger of being converted into 'highly eligible plots of building land'.¹¹⁹ The *Bradford Observer* pleaded for a green breathing space to be preserved in Horton Road and the purchase of the ground to secure it permanently for the 'noblest of our out-door games'.¹²⁰ The sale of the Horton Hall estate and adjacent building land in August 1871 set in train a series of events that would witness Little Horton further develop as a desirable area for the growing middle class. Sir Francis Sharp Powell MP, whose Horton Green estate bordered the Horton Hall estate, purchased the first twenty lots

¹¹⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 27 Aug. 1869.

¹¹⁸ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.39.

¹¹⁹ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.104. Leicester's Wharf Street cricket ground was similarly sold for housing development in 1866.

¹²⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 27 Aug. 1869.

that included plots at Ashgrove and Pemberton Drive (the site of the cricket ground). The land was sold with the 'specification that no dwelling on them should be of less annual value than £20, which meant that they were suitable for villas rather than workmen's cottages'.¹²¹ In April 1874 the *Bradford Observer* reported:

The ground in Horton Road rented from Mr F.S. Powell by the Bradford Cricket Club has been disposed of for building land, and that the present season will be the last ... we understand that an attempt was made on behalf of the club to obtain a lease of the ground, and that afterwards an offer was made to Mr Powell for its purchase ... neither of these proposals were accepted.¹²²

The final match at Horton Road came in October 1874 when Bradford Cricket Club met 'Eleven of the District' for the benefit of William Smith.¹²³ In July of 1875 the grandstand that, 'will seat 600 or 700 persons', was offered for sale and tenders for the purchase and removal of the 'whole of walls and sods'.¹²⁴ The club was placed in a cricketing limbo as sites for a new ground were

¹²¹ Astrid Hansen, *Sharp to Blunt, the story of Horton Hall, Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 2000), pp.63-5.

¹²² *Bradford Observer*, 13 Apr. 1874.

¹²³ *Bradford Observer*, 1 Oct. 1874.

¹²⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 2 July 1875.

evaluated. An offer from Powell of a piece of land 'at a favourable rental' was rejected as it was thought that at least £2,000 would need to be expended and that could not be justified as only a ten year lease was on the table. Lengthy talks were held with the wool magnate Henry Illingworth regarding a field adjoining his Lady Royd villa in Manningham, but the £150 per annum rent and £400 development costs proved to be insurmountable. The collapse of the talks prompted the committee to recommend that the club be wound up.¹²⁵

That announcement attracted a spate of letters to the *Bradford Observer*. One said the club should merge with Manningham Cricket Club who, the writer claimed, had 'drawn away much of the best young blood' and that the 'increase in land rents and reduction in the number of Horton supporters' had fatally undermined Bradford Cricket Club. Another correspondent thought that if money and aristocratic influence were essential elements for the successful running of a cricket club then Manningham was the 'most preferable place'. The reference to 'Horton' supporters possibly illustrates the competition between the middle class suburbs of Horton and Manningham for the cultural soul of the growing city. However, another letter made the suggestion that Bradford Cricket Club was much more than being a merely 'private' club (Manningham and Bradford Albion were named as examples,) and that the Bradford Cricket Club was 'to all intents and purposes the town's

¹²⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 25 Nov. 1874; 8 Sept. 1875.

club'. The writer concluded by stating that a cricket club was as important to a large town as 'public baths or public parks'.¹²⁶ A committee member replied claiming that the previous committee, which had been radically altered with many long serving members being voted off, had agreed to relinquish the ground despite Powell refusing to enter negotiations about a new site until the old one had been given up. The committee member, in a perhaps surprising attack on the Tory MP given the club's previous links with Bradford's Tory elite, said that these actions had:

Thrown away the funds of the club ... and had put a good share of it into the pockets of Mr F. S. Powell, who throughout the whole transaction has treated the committee in anything but an accommodating spirit ... this had left the club this summer without a ground to play on.¹²⁷

The 1876 cricket season began with the *Bradford Observer* lamenting the fact that Bradford Cricket Club had 'yet to emerge from the enforced state of idleness'. The playing members distributed themselves among neighbouring clubs. Spectators were similarly scattered among Bradford's numerous clubs. Frederick Delius, recalling his childhood growing up on Claremont,

¹²⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 11 Sept. 1875; 13 Sept. 1875; 16 Sept. 1875.

¹²⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 16 Sept. 1875.

immediately adjacent to Bradford's ground, and who would have been twelve when the club closed, wrote:

I scarcely ever missed a cricket match at the Bowling Green cricket club on Saturday afternoons and always enjoyed the bottle of ginger pop that I used to buy for 2d.¹²⁸

For the adults the cultural and social vacuum left by Bradford's demise appears to have been filled by Manningham Cricket Club, who, it was reported, occupied the 'foremost place among our local cricketing organisations'.¹²⁹ Bradford Albion Cricket Club, whose home ground at Horton Green was also part of Powell's estate, was the other main beneficiary from Bradford's demise. The dominance of the two clubs was illustrated when they supplied six players for a Bradford & District team in 1879.¹³⁰

vi A Civic Enclosure

Bradford Cricket Club remained dormant until July 1878 when a meeting at the chamber of commerce room at the Bradford Wool Exchange agreed to

¹²⁸ Lionel Carley, *Delius, a life in letters, 1862-1908* (Scolar Press, 1983), p.379.

¹²⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 22 Apr. 1876.

¹³⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 9 July 1879.

open talks with Powell in order to secure a site for a new ground.¹³¹ The influence of Powell on the development and character of the Little Horton area is crucial. The Tory MP and extensive landowner inherited the Horton Green estate in 1844. Despite many 'tempting offers' he kept his estate as a green oasis among the rapidly expanding city.¹³² John S. Roberts claimed that Powell, as a representation of traditional conservatism and old money, would have stood out among his wealthy Bradford contemporaries.¹³³ The covenant he placed on the development of Little Horton ensured that middle class villas were constructed and his adjacent estate would have been attractive to aspirant purchasers of the villas. Powell's construction of the impressive All Saints' Church at a reported cost of £20,000 in 1864, the opening of Horton Park in 1878, the development of the Park Avenue cricket and football grounds in July 1880, and the opening of Horton Park railway station in November 1880, made Little Horton one of the most desirable residencies in Bradford and rivalled the established middle class suburb of Manningham.¹³⁴

¹³¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 19 July 1878.

¹³² Albert Cooper, *All Saints' Church, Bradford, Centenary, 1864-1964* (Bradford: 1964).

¹³³ John S. Roberts, 'A Squire who made a Village', *Telegraph & Argus*, 10 June 1972.

¹³⁴ Alan Whittaker and Bob Cryer, *The Queensbury Lines* (Clapham: Dalesman, 1984), pp.20-1; George Sheeran, *The Victorian Houses of Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1990), p.66. Horton Park station opened on 1 November 1880, two years after the Great Northern line to Thornton opened. It closed to traffic on 15 September 1952. By 1900 Sheeran claimed that the railways and tramways were taking the middle class away from Little Horton to the newly developing residential areas of Baildon, Frizinghall, Heaton and Moorhead.

In May 1879 Powell agreed to a fourteen-year lease of eight acres of land adjacent to Horton Park with the rent being set at £70 per annum. The future chairman of the cricket club, J.H. Mitchell, J.P., consented to an exchange of land in order to give the cricket ground 'a better shape' and thus all the elements were in place for the development of a £2,000 joint cricket and football ground.¹³⁵ The football ground would accommodate Bradford (Rugby) Football Club; the football club's development will be returned to in a later chapter. Sandiford claims that it was the counties who expanded their grounds to meet a growing spectator demand.¹³⁶ However, in the case of Bradford Park Avenue it was public subscription that attempted to raise the £4,000 (double the original estimate) that was required to furnish Bradford with a 'first class' cricket and football ground.¹³⁷ Given that Victorian cities displayed their status via grandiose civic architecture, the cricket club, increasingly a part of civic identity, probably faced an expectation that its ground would reflect the wealth and prestige of the wider city.¹³⁸ Although the dominant sports would be cricket and rugby, facilities for 'lawn tennis, archery, quoits, etc.' were provided.¹³⁹ A running track was also considered.

¹³⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, 30 May 1879.

¹³⁶ Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds', p.8.

¹³⁷ Cudworth, *Rambles Round Horton*, pp.148-9.

¹³⁸ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, pp.169-92.

¹³⁹ *Bradford, 1847-1947* (Bradford: Yorkshire Observer, 1947).

The relationship between Bradford Corporation and the development of Park Avenue is worthy of comment. While many councillors and prominent citizens appear on the subscription list, the corporation itself did not commit any public money to the development. This is unsurprising, as prior to the 1880s, the provision of facilities with an obvious public health benefit such as public parks were still largely met by private benefactors or public subscription. Bradford was fairly representative, with Lister Park being developed in 1870 via a combination of the land being made available at below the market price and public subscription. Meller saw Lister Park as another indication that parks had become 'deeply identified as a measure of "social citizenship" and local benefactors were encouraged by the strengthening of municipal pride'.¹⁴⁰ Although from the 1880s onwards corporations were more willing to fund expensive developments, such as parks and swimming baths, to help improve public health, as Park Avenue was constructed mainly for spectator sport, it had to be funded by private sources.¹⁴¹ The attendance of the mayor at the opening of Park Avenue illustrated that while the corporation was happy to associate themselves with the new venture, and thereby give Park Avenue a semi-official seal of approval as the civic sporting institution, public funding was seemingly never seriously contemplated. Widening this debate, the tensions arising from the

¹⁴⁰ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, pp.109-12.

¹⁴¹ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.109.

development of a large sporting ground and financing it via public subscription should be acknowledged. As Cunningham stated, initially rational recreation was a middle class movement and one that, by subscription, excluded the lower classes.¹⁴² The use of subscriptions to fund the development of Park Avenue offered both the most expedient way of raising the funds required and exclusivity for subscribers via access to the pavilions. It was a pragmatic approach as due to the scale of the facilities, and in particular the spectators' facilities, Park Avenue was only viable if the paying public were attracted in significant numbers. The exclusion of the lower classes could only be from certain sections of the ground rather than from the club itself, which probably differentiates the development at Park Avenue from the examples at the forefront of Cunningham's mind, where total exclusion was the aim of subscriptions.

In order to both finance the development and ensure its future viability in 1880 the cricket club merged with Bradford Football Club and the resulting body was named the Bradford Cricket, Athletic & Football Club. The multi-sport format of the new organisation had several local examples it could take inspiration from: Huddersfield Cricket & Athletic Club (1864); Leeds Athletic

¹⁴² Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, p.91.

& Football Club (1868).¹⁴³ The Leeds club had distinct athletics, cricket, cycling, rugby, tennis, harrier and bowling sections. By 1892 the Huddersfield club added a cycling section and a bowling section.¹⁴⁴ The early clubs, formed prior to 1877, were highly respectable organisations and the comments of the Huddersfield chairman in 1870, ascribing Prussian military successes to the existence of gymnasiums in the majority of German towns and that anyone wishing to see Britain retain her position in the world would support clubs such as the Huddersfield Cricket & Athletic Club, was typical of the era.¹⁴⁵ However, from 1877, when cup rugby began to attract significant attendances, multi-sport companies were formed in order to finance the expansion and development of grounds. Halifax Cricket, Football Athletic Club was formed in the wake of the club winning the Yorkshire Cup in 1877 and eventually developed the Thrum Hall ground.¹⁴⁶ Wakefield Trinity Athletic Company was founded in 1896-7 to finance improvements to the Belle Vue ground.¹⁴⁷ The Leeds A&FC became the Leeds Cricket, Football & Athletic Sports Co. Ltd. to raise funds sufficient to purchase land at Headingley in 1877.¹⁴⁸ Crump

¹⁴³ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, pp.7-8; Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.55. The football in the titles refers to rugby football and not association football. However, all the clubs listed had short-lived association football teams in the 1890s.

¹⁴⁴ *Huddersfield Bazaar*, pp.97-101.

¹⁴⁵ *Huddersfield Bazaar*, p.7. Almost identical sentiments were to be expressed when the Bradford Cricket, Football & Athletic Club's Park Avenue grounds opened in 1880.

¹⁴⁶ Trevor Delaney, *The Grounds of Rugby League* (Keighley: Delaney, 1991), p.25, pp.77-8.

¹⁴⁷ Delaney, *Grounds of Rugby League*, p.26.

¹⁴⁸ Delaney, *Grounds of Rugby League*, p.113.

noted the Leicester Cricket Ground Company being formed in 1877 to raise capital to develop their ground.¹⁴⁹ Simon Inglis discerned a similar pattern among football clubs: Ipswich Cricket, Football & Athletic Ground Company; Headington Sports Ground Company (Manor Ground, Oxford United); Wigan Trotting & Athletic Ground Company; Hereford Athletic Ground Company. Whether in practice these organisations operated differently to multi-sport clubs such as Darlington Cricket & Football Club; Argyle Athletic Club (Plymouth); Alexandra Cricket & Athletic Club (Crewe) is difficult to ascertain.¹⁵⁰

Although the driving motives behind the development of sporting grounds varies, there are key themes. Inglis's pioneering work on football stadia illustrated a large number, often in the early stages of their existence, that staged numerous sports. Due to their early development cricket grounds were utilised to either boost the host's profits, allow cricketers sport in the winter months, or as a venue for football clubs: Bramall Lane, Sheffield; County Ground, Northampton; Anlaby Road, Hull; Trent Bridge, Nottingham being examples. Other, mainly cricket and football grounds, developed alongside one another but remained essentially separate, these include: Turf Moor, Burnley; Feethams, Darlington; Thorneyholme Road, Accrington; Alexandra

¹⁴⁹ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, pp.334-8.

¹⁵⁰ Simon Inglis, *Football Grounds of Britain* (Collins Willow, 1996).

Meadows, Nelson. Delaney's research found an identical pattern among rugby clubs, clubs formed by cricketers, or who merged with cricket clubs include: Barrow, Batley, Dewsbury, Hunslet, Keighley, Oldham, Rochdale, St. Helens, Swinton, Widnes, Wigan, York. Unique to the West Riding are genuinely shared facilities in the shape of back-to-back stands at Park Avenue (Bradford), Fartown (Huddersfield) and Headingley (Leeds). They could be viewed as a logical development of stadium technology, addressing issues with playing surfaces, revenue maximisation and spectator expectations. The practical difficulties of sharing large capacity grounds with differing viewing angles and overlapping seasons were illustrated at Sheffield's Bramall Lane and Northampton's County Ground.

By March 1880 it was reported that 'satisfactory progress' was being made on the construction of the Park Avenue grounds. The playing area had been levelled, the cricket pitch only required a minor amount of excavation in the south west corner and the football field was also nearing completion. However, concerns were expressed that only £1,500 had been raised via subscriptions leaving a £2,500 shortfall. The *Bradford Observer* printed a full list of subscribers and appealed for more to step forward as more money was needed in order to open the ground free of debt.¹⁵¹ Bradford Cricket Club

¹⁵¹ *Bradford Observer*, 6 Mar. 1880. See Appendix E 'Subscribers to Bradford Cricket, Athletic & Football Club'.

resumed matches but initially they were forced to play away from home while works progressed. On 26 June 1880 Bradford met Bingley at Park Avenue, which was the first sporting occasion at the new ground.¹⁵² A couple of weeks later Saltaire visited Park Avenue and, with those games safely under the collective belt, the grounds were officially opened in late July.¹⁵³ The ambition for the grounds can be detected by the facilities: there were two pavilions, with the lower of the two having frontages onto both the cricket and rugby pitches, whilst the main pavilion at the top of the ground boasted a refreshment bar behind a near 130 foot long balcony. The eastern and western wings housed the dressing rooms, committee room and ladies cloak room.¹⁵⁴ The facilities are representative of the Victorian social segregation, the pavilions, grandstands, balconies, dining facilities and price segregation of different parts of the ground was common at virtually every large-scale county cricket ground.¹⁵⁵

At half past ten on 20 July 1880 the Mayor of Bradford, Alderman Angus Holden, inspected the new pavilion and from the balcony officially declared the grounds open. The presence of the Mayor would have sent a clear message that Park Avenue was recognised as part of the civic infrastructure

¹⁵² *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 26 June 1880.

¹⁵³ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 10 July 1880.

¹⁵⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 6 Mar. 1880.

¹⁵⁵ Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds', p.17.

on a par with the public parks and St. George's Hall. It was an important moment. Park Avenue was a status symbol that resonated beyond the sporting. The decorative pavilions and attendant sports represented respectability. It was a physical symbol that linked Bradford with sporting institutions as varied as Lord's, Bramall Lane and the public schools. A match involving local and regional Gentlemen and Players was delayed until two thirty in the afternoon due to rain. Among the Gentlemen was a twenty-year-old middle order batsman the Hon. M.B Hawke, later the famous Yorkshire captain Lord Hawke. Following a forty-six run victory for the Gentlemen dinner was served in the pavilion. The Mayor toasted the health of the Queen, various members of the Royal family and army, navy and volunteer forces. Among the guests were officers of the 103rd regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Frankland replied to the Mayor by regretting the unsatisfactory state of the army. It was reported that:

He felt he was addressing the intelligent population of one of our most important manufacturing towns, who had an influence in the voice of the nation ... he hoped that this important question would meet with the attention of Parliament and the nation at large ... he concluded by proposing the health of the Bradford Cricket, Athletic and Football Club ... and the importance of young men going in for athletics ... He spoke warmly of his appreciation of outdoor sports, and of cricket in

particular. He compared favourably our physical condition with that of Continental nations, and ascribed the cause to the English love of athletics.¹⁵⁶

On the day the first ball was bowled the Bradford Cricket Athletic and Football Club appeared to be overtly associating itself with the civic elite and the Imperial mission of sport. The link between cricket and the military was already firmly established.¹⁵⁷ As early as 1841 the commander-in-chief of the army, Lord Hill, ordered the preparation of a cricket ground as close as possible to every army barracks in the country. This greatly aided the establishment of cricket as the national game and raised its social standing.¹⁵⁸ The cult of athleticism, and its bedfellow muscular Christianity, will be examined in more depth later in the following chapter, but it is worth repeating Ferguson's claim that cricket 'became institutionalised as the quintessential imperial game'.¹⁵⁹ Although Ferguson is referring specifically to the Empire, it is worth quoting in order to understand that there was a link between the imperial and the civic. Thompson imagined an invisible thread connecting the industrial greensward at Park Avenue with the exotica of Empire when he wrote of soldiers and cricketers:

¹⁵⁶ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 21 July 1880.

¹⁵⁷ Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, p.19.

¹⁵⁸ Ian Hall, *Cricket at Scarborough* (Derby: Breedon, 1992), p.24.

¹⁵⁹ Niall Ferguson, *Empire, how Britain made the modern world* (Penguin, 2004), p.261.

Both need courage and endurance; both are skilled in adapting themselves without warning to various forms of sticky wicket, as in Burma or even Bradford Park Avenue.¹⁶⁰

The development of Park Avenue was part of a wider expansion of cricket grounds. As Sandiford explained by the 1890s Lord's, The Oval, Old Trafford and Trent Bridge could comfortably accommodate five figure crowds. By the turn of the century Lord Hawke could state that 'at least' three grounds in Yorkshire could house between twenty and thirty thousand spectators.¹⁶¹

The hosting of numerous sports at the Park Avenue represented a decades of sports gathering around Bradford Cricket Club. As early as 1844 an archery section was added.¹⁶² It was joined in 1852 by a 'strictly private' bowling green.¹⁶³ Some of these sections must have been born from cricket club members using the facilities and social contacts of the club to develop additional sporting interests. Others may have gravitated to the cricket club as it offered sporting respectability and credibility at a civic level. In the latter

¹⁶⁰ Arthur Thompson, *Odd Men In, a gallery of cricket eccentrics* (Sportsman's Book Club, 1959), p.98.

¹⁶¹ Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p.114.

¹⁶² *Bradford Observer*, 4 Apr. 1844.

¹⁶³ *Bradford Observer*, 16 Dec. 1852.

part of the nineteenth century cricket and rugby became the dominant sports. This was one of a number of instances across the region, as Rob Light identified a similar pattern of development at: Thrum Hall, Halifax 1866; Fartown, Huddersfield 1878; Park Avenue, Bradford 1880; Mount Pleasant, Batley 1880; Saville Ground, Dewsbury 1881; Headingley, Leeds 1892.¹⁶⁴

The first rugby match was staged at Park Avenue on 25 September 1880 when Bradford were defeated by Bradford Rangers. Though it was reported that the game attracted 'considerable interest amongst local players and patrons of the game' the fanfare of the opening cricket match was absent.¹⁶⁵ However, a number of players appeared in both matches including J.W. Bottomley who opened the batting for the Gentlemen and played full back for Bradford FC. In time rugby would become the financially dominant aspect of the Bradford Cricket, Athletic and Football Club, and effectively subsidised the cricket.¹⁶⁶

vii Cricket in the Neighbourhood and Workplace

Cricket's self-image, constructed by generations of writers and commentators has innumerable references to pastoral England as shorthand for the home

¹⁶⁴ Light, *Cricket's Forgotten Past*, p.111.

¹⁶⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 28 Sept. 1880.

¹⁶⁶ Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p.54.

counties, with a vision of the squire, parson and farm labourer playing on the village green. It partly emerged as a reaction to industrialisation, in particular in the north and midlands, and the attendant social and economic changes.¹⁶⁷ As Bateman noted, such visions were vigorously consumed by the urban middle class, seeking escapism from industrialisation and modernity via arcadian descriptions of the countryside of which cricket was an integral part. Even when played in heavily industrialised locales, Bateman claimed it created the same image of 'temporal and spatial conformity' in which the various forms and manifestations of the game were the same.¹⁶⁸ The ultimate form being the mythical rural cricket field: timeless, pastoral and with a natural social hierarchy. Perhaps this can help explain why cricket's importance as one of the first team sports adopted by industrial workers as the Saturday half-holiday began to spread has often been overlooked.

Birley, commenting on the 1850 Factory Act that required mills to close at 2pm on a Saturday, which was the first move towards giving the working class a structured time to play and watch sport, claimed that 'cricket was not, of course, one of these [sports]. It was already ... freezing, if not frozen into the patterns of a preindustrial age'.¹⁶⁹ Sandiford claimed that cricket lost ground

¹⁶⁷ David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (Reaktion, 1998), p.145.

¹⁶⁸ Anthony Bateman, 'Cricket pastoral and Englishness', Anthony Bateman and Jeffrey Hill, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Cricket* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 14-16.

¹⁶⁹ Birley, *Social History of English Cricket*, p.87.

to the rapidly growing winter sports of football and rugby.¹⁷⁰ Sandiford offered the explanation that cricket, by failing to modernise, had found itself out of step with industrial urban society. The sedate tempo of the game, often spread over several working days, could be viewed as a quaint anomaly in comparison to the frantic excitement of the football codes, played in the space a couple of hours of a work free Saturday afternoon.¹⁷¹ However, Sandiford had county cricket at the forefront of his mind. Cricket leagues expanded rapidly in the north and midlands in the same period Sandiford claimed that cricket was losing popularity. His comments are perplexing as in an earlier paper he identified club cricket crowds of several thousand in Lancashire and Yorkshire from the 1870s through to the 1890s.¹⁷² Hill's assertion that, while county cricket never became an all-consuming passion for the working classes like football and rugby, league cricket was more accessible and had great appeal as a spectator sport is compelling.¹⁷³ Those leagues had far more in common socially and economically with rugby and football than they did with county cricket. Russell, while acknowledging that cricket's growth was geographically relatively uniform, argued it was the north that was 'heavily

¹⁷⁰ Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp.119-20.

¹⁷¹ Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp.121-2; Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds', pp. 15-16.

¹⁷² Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds', pp.13-14.

¹⁷³ Hill, 'League cricket', p.137.

involved in its emergence as a spectator sport'.¹⁷⁴ Cricket leagues will be returned to in a later chapter.

By the 1860s the myriad of clubs playing one-day matches on Saturdays is surely an illustration that the reduced working hours did indeed have an impact on cricket in towns such as Bradford. In the previous chapter matches between tradesmen were charted at the Quarry Gap ground. In 1856 it was reported that Bradford Cricket Club would be staging 'almost weekly' friendly games between the Saturday half-holiday clubs and warehousemen at Bradford Cricket Club.¹⁷⁵ By the 1880s, rather than being in terminal decline, the evidence strongly suggests that for many industrial workers in the north and midlands the sporting calendar was already split between the local rugby or football club in the winter months and the local cricket club in the summer. One reason why this significant development has occasionally been overlooked is that whilst the crowds would often be concentrated at Park Avenue or Valley Parade in the winter, during the summer those same crowds would be distributed around the numerous grounds of the local cricket clubs.

¹⁷⁴ Russell, *Looking North*, p.238.

¹⁷⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 17 July 1856.

Utilising reports of matches from the *Bradford Observer* in the decade 1856 to 1866 a broad picture of the development of working class cricket is possible. The month of July, chosen as it is in the middle of the cricket season and therefore hopefully capturing the majority of teams then in existence, has been researched for match reports, as this illustrates the matches that were actually played, as opposed to matches advertised. Of course, this methodology has its pitfalls: the newspaper was reliant on correspondents submitting match details; some matches may have been omitted due to pressure on space or editorial judgement; the weather had an impact on the number of matches played. However, some patterns do emerge, notably, that the majority of matches in the early part of the decade in question were between work based teams: for example of the nine reported matches in July 1856 all were between workplace teams; by the last Saturday of July 1866 of the thirty-two teams in action only four were representing workplaces or trades, while twenty-seven were geographic – of course, it is difficult to discern how many of the geographic teams developed from workplace teams. Crump detected a similar pattern in 1860s Leicester.¹⁷⁶ However, this trend, instead of being linear, may have been partly cyclical, as Jack Williams noted a re-emergence in workplace teams during the 1930s.¹⁷⁷ There is evidence of

¹⁷⁶ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.372.

¹⁷⁷ Jack Williams, 'Church, sport and identity in the North, 1900-1939', eds. Jeff Hill and Jack Williams, *Sport and Identity in the North of England* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1996), p.124.

clubs merging to form a more coherent or stronger organisation.¹⁷⁸ Windhill CC was formed from a series of mergers. In 1857 the works teams of Dumb Mills and Perrys came together to form Windhill United CC. Their local rival, formed a few years later, was Windhill Educational CC. Eventually, the two clubs merged to become Windhill CC in 1863.¹⁷⁹ Another example was Hunsworth Mills CC, founded in 1864, becoming Cleckheaton CC in 1885.¹⁸⁰

The number of matches reported in the *Bradford Observer* illustrates a sharp increase from 1863 onwards. That year also saw the newspaper printing full scorecards for the first time, which may represent an editorial decision to increase the coverage of cricket, as opposed to a sudden surge in the number of matches played and this could represent under-reporting of matches in the years leading up to 1863. As Vamplew acknowledged determining the chronology of works teams is difficult, but the evidence does support his theory that most works teams 'appeared in the last two to three decades' of the nineteenth century.¹⁸¹ The matches quoted below exclude Bradford Cricket Club's first team contests against clubs from outside the district.

¹⁷⁸ Sporting mergers will be returned to later in the thesis and in particular the failed football merger of Bradford City and Bradford Park Avenue.

¹⁷⁹ Wilkinson, *Bradford League Cricket*, p.311.

¹⁸⁰ Wilkinson, *Bradford League Cricket*, p.224.

¹⁸¹ Wray Vamplew, 'Sport and Industrialization, an economic interpretation of the changes in popular sport in nineteenth-century England', J.A. Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism, British culture and sport at home and abroad 1700-1914* (Frank Cass, 1988), p.12.

Table 1.3

Local Cricket Matches Reported in the *Bradford Observer* July 1856 to 1866

Year	Number of matches
July 1856	9
July 1857	12
July 1858	13
July 1859	13
July 1860	10
July 1861	10
July 1862	7
July 1863	27
July 1864	47
July 1865	48
July 1866	62

Within the seemingly humdrum world of workplace cricket there were elements of internationalism as many represented German owned businesses. It is perhaps unsurprising as Bradford's middle class was said to be 'international in composition and cosmopolitan in outlook'.¹⁸² In particular it was Bradford's small, but highly influential, German community that made a

¹⁸² Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford*, p.5.

lasting impression on the town. Leo Schuster and Jacob Behrens were among the first arrivals in 1836 and 1838 respectively.¹⁸³ They transformed the distribution side of the textile business, bringing efficiency and 'businesslike terms of payment in place of chance sales and haphazard settlements'.¹⁸⁴ More Germans followed, being drawn to Bradford either directly from the Continent or by relocating existing businesses based in Britain. By 1861 there were only three foreign manufacturers in Leeds, in contrast to Bradford's sixty-five. The warehouse district they developed in central Bradford even became known as Little Germany. Within thirty years they were fully integrated into the business and civic community. In 1864 Charles Seman, from Danzig, became Bradford's first foreign mayor. Between 1851 and 1881 25% of the membership of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce were German merchants.¹⁸⁵ When Jacob Behrens was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1882 it was recognition of the centrality and importance of Bradford's German, and largely Jewish, community. J.B. Priestley wrote:

A Londoner was a stranger sight than a German. There was, then, this odd mix in pre-war Bradford. A dash of the Rhine and the Oder found its way into our grim runnel – "t'mucky beck." Bradford was

¹⁸³ Michael Platt, *The Influence of the Germans on Bradford* (Bradford, Margaret McMillan College, n.d), pp.5-6.

¹⁸⁴ Platt, *The Influence of the Germans*, p.8.

¹⁸⁵ Mackenzie, 'German Immigrants', p.48.

determinedly Yorkshire and provincial, yet some of its suburbs reached as far as Frankfort and Leipzig.¹⁸⁶

Historians have often referenced the high culture interests of the German community, most notably in connection with the subscription concerts.¹⁸⁷ The sporting interests of the German community have been hinted at in a variety of sources, but almost always anecdotally. Frederick Delius's love of cricket is one example.¹⁸⁸ Perhaps the most insightful is the poet Humbert Wolfe's description of growing up in a prosperous Jewish German-Italian household in Manningham between the 1880s and the Great War. Wolfe played cricket as a boy in the gardens of the exclusive villas of Mount Royd.¹⁸⁹ However, he does suggest that there was an element of exclusion from Bradford Cricket Club:

The Jews admired and eagerly accepted all the habits of the English ... the elder men took and hand at whist, while the younger were experts

¹⁸⁶ J.B. Priestley, *English Journey* (Heinemann, 1934), p.160.

¹⁸⁷ Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany, exile and asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.155; Eric Fenby, *The Great Composers, Delius* (Faber and Faber, 1971), p.13; Jacquie Mackenzie, 'The German Immigrants, their influence nineteenth century Bradford', Bob Duckett, ed., *Bradford Chapters, episodes in the history of a city* (Leeds: Propagator Press, 2007), pp.56-7; Pratt, *Influence of the Germans*, p.40; Russell, 'Provincial Concerts', *passim*.

¹⁸⁸ Carley, *Delius*, p.379; Alan Jefferson, *Delius* (Dent & Sons, 1972), p.7; Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p. 79.

¹⁸⁹ Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p.71.

on cricket averages, and would have joined the Bradford Club if there had been any chance of their being elected'.¹⁹⁰

It can only be speculation as to whether it was the Jewish element of the German community that felt excluded and whether such exclusion was restricted to the high status Bradford Cricket Club. Delius made no reference to such feelings when reminiscing about the cricket of his childhood. However, the Delius family were Lutherans and worshipped at the town's Deutsche Evangelische Kirche. A previously unexplored aspect of Bradford's German community is its involvement with workplace cricket.¹⁹¹ In 1856 a match was played between the warehousemen of Thornton Firth & Co. and S.L. Behrens.¹⁹² The latter company was based in the imposing Little Germany warehouse district.¹⁹³ There were several other cricket teams representing German owned businesses, examples being: A.S. Sichel; Schunk Brothers & Co.; Schwann, Kell & Co.; E. Wurtzburg & Co.; N. Reichemheim & Co.; S. Barsdorf & Co; and Kessler & Co.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Humbert Wolfe, *Now a Stranger* (Cassell, 1933), p.126. There is a possibility that Wolfe was referring to a gentlemen's club entitled 'The Bradford Club' as opposed to the cricket club.

¹⁹¹ Duncan Stone, 'Cricket's regional identities: the development of cricket and identity in Yorkshire and Surrey', *Sport in Society*, Vol. 11, No. 5, September 2008, pp.505-6. Workplace cricket itself has attracted very little academic attention. Stone's brief mention being an honourable exception.

¹⁹² *Bradford Observer*, 24 July 1856.

¹⁹³ Mackenzie, 'German Immigrants', pp.49-51. Jacob Behrens, a German Jewish liberal, will feature in a forthcoming chapter in relation to his role as a governor of Bradford Grammar School and its opposition to rugby football.

¹⁹⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 8 Sept. 1853; 25 Aug. 1854; 30 July 1863; 6 Aug. 1863; 31 Aug. 1865.

As many of the German businessmen were said to be 'aware of an employer's social obligations' to their workforce, the teams may have been officially sanctioned acts of philanthropy.¹⁹⁵ Davies and Light concluded that this was employers assisting clubs to steer employees away from the temptations of the public house and improve productivity, via a healthy and engaged workforce.¹⁹⁶ However, there may have also been a competitive element, especially when teams from the same trades met as was the case when teams from the Little Germany warehouses played one another. Vamplew concurred stating that employers sponsored or assisted in the formation of cricket clubs 'as a means of reducing labour turnover by creating loyalty to the firm and perhaps also to increase productivity by keeping their workers fit'.¹⁹⁷ Mason added further weight, albeit in the case of football, arguing that teams could be used to both retain and attract workers.¹⁹⁸ Crump described the process as 'pseudo-paternalistic'.¹⁹⁹ While the later provision of sport by large-scale employers, such as Lister Mills and Salts, can be fairly reliably bracketed as such, the provision of workplace cricket by the likes of Behrens is trickier to place. Perhaps Joyce's theory that sporting institutions were part of the

¹⁹⁵ C.C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Nineteenth Century Bradford', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol.53, 1981, p.112; Pratt, *Influence of Germans*, pp.16-17.

¹⁹⁶ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp.42-4.

¹⁹⁷ Vamplew, 'Sport and Industrialization', p.12.

¹⁹⁸ Mason, *Association Football*, p.28.

¹⁹⁹ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.56.

building of a common identity between the firm and its workforce is closer to the mark.²⁰⁰ However, as the German owned works teams were comprised almost entirely of players with British surnames, they could have just as easily been formed and organised by the workers with little or no official involvement. One notable exception was Frederick Sigismund Schwann, the son of John Schwann, the German born owner of Schwann, Kell & Co., who was third to the crease when the company played Manningham United in 1863.²⁰¹ Whatever the inspiration for the formation of the teams, it is still notable that companies formed and run by Germans, of largely Jewish backgrounds, were playing the supposedly quintessential English game.²⁰²

Warehousemen were one of the main groups of workers who took part in organised cricket matches during the 1850s and 1860s. This may well reflect working practices, but their status in the workplace is probably a factor. Warehousemen had become highly skilled workers as the 'preparation, making up and packing of goods required expert knowledge of the markets'.²⁰³ Their role at the apex of the production process probably ensured that they were among the earliest recipients of the Saturday half-holiday.

²⁰⁰ Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics*, p.xxi.

²⁰¹ Examples of the composition of warehouse cricket teams are shown in the appendix.

²⁰² The interaction between Bradford's German business community and sport will be revisited in coming chapters when second generation German wool merchants become involved with rugby football.

²⁰³ A.V. Cooper, *The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse, 1780-1914, a study of its typology and practical development* (Phd. thesis, University of Manchester, 1991), Vol.1, p.79.

Vamplew wrote that most works teams were products of the last two and half decades of the nineteenth century. Although he did note that the glassmakers Pilkington's had a cricket team in the 1860s.²⁰⁴ Vamplew's evidence suggests that the warehousemen of Little Germany were among the first tranche of works cricket teams. It is an area that would benefit from further research. If the warehousemen were cricketing pioneers it might be reflective of their place in the workplace hierarchy. Koditschek made the bold claim that warehousemen were already allied to 'bourgeois liberalism' as they had been sworn in as special constables during the Chartists rising of 1848.²⁰⁵ Even as late as Great War warehousemen were still highly regarded workers. This is illustrated by the composition of the battalions of the Bradford Pals on formation in 1914. The companies were formed along class lines: A company consisted of professional men and employers; B company higher grade office workers; C company clerks; D company warehousemen; and through to H company who were classed as miscellaneous.²⁰⁶ With all this evidence in mind, it is fairly reasonable to suggest that the playing of cricket at an early stage, and in a distinct trade grouping, is probably illustrative of warehousemen's status and relationship with both employers and the ruling classes.

²⁰⁴ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.52.

²⁰⁵ Koditschek, *Class Formation*, pp.560-1.

²⁰⁶ Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p.128.

Cricket was also booming away from the workplace. The neighbourhood teams, many of whom began life playing on any ground that could be found and operating under an array of bizarre names, slowly transformed into formalised clubs.²⁰⁷ Permanent grounds were developed and identification with the immediate locality began to take root. Examples of this transition include: In Yeadon two teams, the Topenders and the Lowenders, emerged from cricket played on Saturday evenings after work on Yeadon Moor. They merged in 1859 to become Yeadon United. At Idle a 'Fat Pot' club was in existence prior to formation of Idle United in 1861. They became the Idle Lillywhites in 1865 and finally Idle in 1889.²⁰⁸ At Lidget Green a team named 'T'Blazing Rag' was formed in the 1870s, by 1880 they had become Lidget Green United and a pitch had been laid at their Legrams Lane ground.²⁰⁹ There was also a religious element to some formations. To the south of Bradford Spen Victoria was formed in 1862 as Cleckheaton Wesleyan Chapel and the vicar of St. Mary's formed Gomersal in 1896.²¹⁰ By any measure this was a notable expansion. In a handful of decades club cricket had found its way into almost every nook and cranny of Victorian Bradford. In time club

²⁰⁷ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp.53-6.

²⁰⁸ Wilkinson, *Bradford League Cricket*, p.256, 323.

²⁰⁹ Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, p.59.

²¹⁰ Wilkinson, *Bradford League Cricket*, p.243, 302. The relationship between religion and cricket will be returned to when cricket leagues are discussed in chapter four.

cricket would embrace professionalism and, as will be discussed in chapter four, leagues.

Conclusion

The story of Bradford Cricket Club between the years 1836 and 1880 reflects changes to both sport and society. Had Bradford itself remained a small market town, some of the growing pains felt by cricket would have impacted on the town's cricket club. However, combine those changes with the rapid expansion of Bradford and the cricket club found itself at the heart of comprehensive challenges to the societal and sporting landscape. Foremost was commercialism; in a town like Bradford it was impossible to ignore. The wealth gained by the club's principal backers came from industrial capitalism, so it was perhaps inevitable that elements of competition and commercialism would transfer themselves to the club. The increased leisure time, growing disposable income and an expanding working class population gave the club the opportunity to develop the extensive Park Avenue grounds. While much of the talk surrounding the new ground was of civic aggrandisement and Imperial sporting values, the undeniable truth was that the driving motive behind Park Avenue was profit. Cricket alone could not justify the substantial outlay expended on developing the grounds, another sport with popular appeal was required to balance the books and that game was rugby

football.²¹¹ Hence in the following chapter the origin and development of Bradford Football Club is charted.

The emergence of workplace cricket, and its eventual replacement with neighbourhood cricket, is another example of what Harvey claimed was ‘an enormous change’ from an annual to a weekly sporting calendar.²¹² The regular fixtures and formation of clubs could also be argued to representative of the embracement of elements of respectability and a social hierarchy by elements of the lower middle and working classes. Although some clubs used public houses as their headquarters, club cricket could be deployed as another example of sport loosening its ties with the public house. It is a theme that recurs throughout this thesis.

²¹¹ Sandiford, ‘English Cricket Crowds’, p.13. Sandiford mentioned that ‘most clubs had to play soccer in the winter to avoid financial embarrassment’. In West Yorkshire rugby was the dominant winter game, so it was natural that Bradford CC joined forces with Bradford Rugby Club.

²¹² Harvey, *Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.26.

Chapter Three

The Rise of Rugby c.1863-1892

The development of rugby into a popular, commercialised and professional sport is one of the key moments in Bradford's sporting history. Not only did it ultimately create the modern sporting landscape of the city, it also wrought changes on a national and international scale that continues to resonate to this day. This chapter examines how rugby evolved from its folk football and local public schools roots into a game whose clubs became important vessels of local pride and identity. Debates still rage about the continuity of football and as far back as 1988 Holt suggested that 'doctoral study at the local urban ... level over the nineteenth century as a whole using the local press ... seems desirable'.¹ Evidence of informal football in Bradford in this chapter partly answers that call.

It will be argued that the Yorkshire Cup represents a bridge between rugby's past and present. It was founded by establishment figures and yet the cup introduced elements of commercialism and popularity into the game that would, in time, result in a recognisably modern sporting culture and landscape. The growing populism of rugby was perceived as a threat by the

¹ Richard Holt, 'Football and the Urban way of Life in Nineteenth-Century Britain', J.A. Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism, British culture and sport at home and abroad 1700-1914* (Frank Cass, 1988), p.72.

Rugby Football Union (RFU), a body that was dominated by the ethos and culture of the public school. The response was what has been termed as the invention of amateurism. Designed to exclude commercialism and professionalism from the game, it became the major theme of the period. Historians have extensively debated the clash between amateurism and professionalism. With that in mind, throughout the next two chapters amateurism will be addressed in relation to its impact on the development of sport in Bradford as opposed to a wider theoretical debate. For example the pressures populism and commercialism brought to the game are addressed, both in how the latter was exploited and how the former could expose the limitations of stadium technology and crowd control. Finally, an iconic moment, the formation of the Barbarians FC in a Bradford hotel, is used to illustrate the tensions within the game of rugby as it teetered on what would become known as the 'great split'.

i Liberalism and Global Competition

The politics of Bradford from the 1850s until the 1890s were mainly under the influence of Liberal manufacturers. In comparison to the previous decade that had been dominated by the Chartist disputes, the era was one of relative stability and progress despite increasing competition in the textile industry from overseas. It facilitated the growth of a sporting culture with elements of

competition and civic identity that ran parallel to the wider cultural and political changes in the district. The formation of a borough council in 1847 provided the platform for their political breakthrough. In the first election Liberals won thirty-two of the forty-two seats contested. Of the town's first seven mayors, six were Liberals. Three years after the formation of the borough council an improvement act began a process that sought to civilise the urban environment. Issues addressed included: policing, sewerage, smoke abatement and transport. James claims the paternalism of Liberals such as Isaac Holden and Titus Salt was a response to the problems of the rapidly industrialising city and that enough of, what he terms as, the respectable working class, shared those values to make liberalism the established ideology for fifty years.² Musgrove said this engendered a strong sense of interdependence; Methodism and Adam Smith free market economics, uniting them against a protectionist and Anglican ruling class.³ In 1851 two-thirds of Bradford's population were protestant dissenters, of which 40% were Methodists. Less than a quarter were Anglican and only 9% were Catholic.⁴ In a sporting sense paternalism appears to have been restricted to works cricket in the mid-century, as was illustrated in the previous chapter by teams in the Little Germany warehouse district. An exception appears to have been the

² James, *Bradford*, p.47, pp.90-3.

³ Frank Musgrove, *The North of England, a history from Roman times to the present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp.279-80.

⁴ Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p.97.

larger employers such as Manningham Mills and Salts, both of whom had substantial sports and social sections that survived well into the twentieth century.

Musgrove stated that the classes in the industrial north lacked sharp definition even after the mid-nineteenth century and that employers and workers together formed the industrial classes.⁵ It is perhaps opportune to restate that it was probably the skilled workers who James and Musgrove were alluding to. As Sheeran concluded the gap between the best working class incomes and the majority of the middle class was not so great.⁶ This may have narrowed social distinctions between the respectable working class and what Russell described as a local middle class that was smaller than the national average.⁷ Meller's work on Bristol partly supports Russell's claim. Meller gave examples of the proportion of the population belonging to the professional and commercial classes in Bradford, Bristol and Sheffield, which had similar sized populations in 1908. The number of professionals per 1,000 of the population was as follows: Sheffield 14:1,000; Bradford 16:1,000; Bristol 21:1,000. Commercial classes per 1,000: Sheffield 19:1,000; Bradford 20:1,000; Bristol 25:1,000. Domestic servants per 1,000: Bristol 36:1,000; Sheffield

⁵ Musgrove, *North of England*, pp.279-80.

⁶ Sheeran, *Brass Castles*, p.13.

⁷ Russell, 'Provincial Concerts', p.44.

28:1,000; Bradford 18:1,000.⁸ The real differential is the number of domestic servants. While this can be used as a middle class indicator, it also has to be acknowledged, as Meller did, that Bradford's low numbers could be indicative of greater opportunities in the general workplace for women in Bradford.

The Liberal consensus was underpinned by prosperity. As early as 1874 the paternalism of the liberal manufacturers came under pressure as profits declined due to the foreign trade tariffs. As James wrote:

If the local employer was no longer willing to subsidise the local brass band, the football club, the church or the mechanics' institute, then the workers felt that he was no longer keeping his side of the social bargain.⁹

On a local and national level a revived Tory party tapped into that disconnect. Their enthusiasm for imperialism proved attractive to manufacturers and workers at a time when Bradford's trade was being realigned towards the empire due to the foreign trade tariffs. They received solid support from a growing lower middle class; such as shopkeepers, clerks and local government officials. They also retained working class support that

⁸ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.38.

⁹ James, *Bradford*, p.62.

remembered Oastler's factory reforms. James claims that many were anti-Irish, anti-education, anti-temperance and nationalistic. In 1892 a Conservative newspaper, the *Bradford Daily Argus*, was launched. The Liberals, split by Gladstone's 1886 Home Rule Bill for Ireland, could not counter their opponent's populism and in their 1895 General Election victory the Tories won two of the three Bradford parliamentary seats.¹⁰

Bradford's overseas competitors, namely America, Germany and France, began erecting trade barriers from the mid-1870s. In 1874 France introduced a 10% tariff on textile imports, Germany followed suit in 1879.¹¹ Those countries also represented some of Bradford's largest export markets. A change in fashion from 'bright, rather hard, materials made of cotton warps and worsted weft ... to soft clinging materials, most made in France' was a further blow to Bradford's trade.¹² The Bradford manufacturers reacted by developing worsted coatings, which from 1881 overtook dress goods in output. A technical college offering design and manufacturing education opened in 1878. Part of its aim was to match, and surpass, the skill of foreign designers and workers. Although it was conceded that the 'immense fortunes' made during the 1870s would probably not be repeated, the reforms aided a

¹⁰ James, *Bradford*, pp.62-73. Bradford Central was won by a Liberal Unionist.

¹¹ Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p.90; James, *Bradford*, p.50.

¹² Law, *Story of Bradford*, pp.244-7.

recovery that saw trade in prepared wools increase and by 1884 Bradford's economy had largely recovered.¹³ The *Bradford Observer*, reflecting on the changes, noted that while the very wealthy had suffered, smaller manufacturers and the operatives were 'wealthier than they were five years ago'.¹⁴

ii Informal Football

The earliest written reference to football in Bradford dates back to 1720. Football was one of the sports reportedly played by the pupils of Bradford Grammar School. Other pastimes included bowls, kites, marbles shuttlecocks, skating and tops.¹⁵ Harvey has claimed that there was a national thriving football culture during the early nineteenth century. He references reports that in 1831 football was the most popular game in Yorkshire. By the 1840s Harvey stated that Lancashire and Yorkshire hosted 55% of Britain's football teams. However, it should be noted that the percentage comprised of just twenty-five teams.¹⁶ In Bradford sporadic evidence of informal games of football, interestingly mainly from around the Christmas break, appear in court and crime reports in the *Bradford Observer* between 1838 and 1849. The

¹³ *Bradford Observer*, 15 Dec. 1881; Law, *Story of Bradford*, pp.247-50.

¹⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 29 Oct. 1884.

¹⁵ Scruton, *Pen and Pencil*, p.82.

¹⁶ Harvey, *Football, the first hundred years*, pp.57-62.

proliferation of games during this period could be linked to the 1833 Act which ruled against work on Christmas Day and Good Friday. Although the games were informal rather than set, it is worth noting that Harvey claimed that 'annual holiday periods were particularly important for the holding of football matches involving working-class teams'.¹⁷ Reports from Bradford include a youth being fined 5s and ordered to pay 15s 6d costs following assault when a 'subscription ball' was snatched from a group of 'lads' playing football at Horton on Christmas Day 1838. A year later Joseph Hepworth of Idle was charged with shooting a gun at two 'lads' who were on his land. On Christmas Day 1839 a crowd of boys, who had entered his land 'for the purpose of kicking a football' had annoyed him. Near the end of the decade a body of a deceased male child was found by boys 'kicking a football' in 'an old delf' in Water Lane, Thornton Road, Bradford.¹⁸ A writer in the *Bradford Observer* could remember when 'the whole of Hall Ings revelled in green fields, and when the young and stalwart Bradfordians played football there in the winter season'.¹⁹

¹⁷ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (Croom Helm, 1980), p.142; Harvey, *Football, the first hundred years*, p.65.

¹⁸ *Bradford Observer*, 17 Jan. 1839; 1 Jan. 1840; 4 Jan. 1849.

¹⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 18 July 1869. Although no date is given for the reminiscences, Hall Ings is significant as it lies in the very centre of the city and prominent civic buildings, such as St. George's Hall, stand along the thoroughfare.

While acknowledging Hay's warning of an 'under-reporting' of popular activities and that football often only appeared in the press in connection with minor crimes and nuisances, the Bradford examples are sporadic in the extreme. Three press reports in the space of a decade cannot be used to represent a 'football culture'. However, Hay concluded that such reports provide 'clear evidence' that the reader would understand what football was as no explanation of the game was offered.²⁰ That is supported by the Bradford reports, so we may reasonably assume that readers did indeed understand what 'football' was. James and Day cited similar evidence in Manchester between 1830 and 1860, which they suggest is illustrative of a footballing culture strong enough to be passed through successive generations.²¹ However, as Collins points out, defining a 'football culture' during the pre-codification era is fraught with difficulties. Indeed, the implication that a direct line can be drawn from the playing of informal football to modern soccer and rugby is highly questionable.²² Interpreting the actual extent of informal football via such sources is fraught with difficulty as it is impossible to comprehend how widespread 'football' was and how representative the reported cases were. But quite clearly a form, or forms, of 'football' was being played and it was understood enough that the game did

²⁰ Roy Hay, Adrian Harvey & Mel Smith, 'Football Before Codification, the problems of myopia', *Soccer and Society*, vol.16, issue 2-3, 2015, p.4.

²¹ Gary James & Dave Day, 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840-1884', *Sport in History*, Vol.34, No.1, (2014), p.53.

²² Collins, 'Early Football', pp.6-7.

not have to be explained to newspaper readers. By the late 1850s evidence of a larger scale, and in one instance hints of formalised matches, suggest that football had developed beyond the informal street kick-a-bouts into something more recognisably modern. In 1858 a letter writer complained about the desecration of the Sabbath at Spinkwell Bridge by 'between twenty and thirty young men'. The writer believed that it was not a 'mere pastime' but was a set game. Apparently, the men appeared at the same time every Sunday in order to play. James and Day reference almost identical complaints regarding breaking of the Sabbath in 1850 by footballers in Glossop.²³ The Spinkwell game could be offered as support for Hay et al's argument that far from being wild free for alls, involving virtually entire communities, some early football matches were 'comparatively sophisticated and rule bounded'.²⁴

Further evidence that 'football' was being played in differing parts of the city was indicated by reports of the fiftieth birthday of Titus Salt, and sixth anniversary of opening of Salt's Mill. Three trains took the entire workforce from Saltaire, a reported 3,200 people, to Methley Park, which was owned by Titus Salt. During the afternoon the guests amused themselves in the park

²³ *Bradford Observer*, 28 Jan. 1858; James & Day, 'Football Culture in Manchester', p.54.

²⁴ Hay, Harvey & Smith, 'Football Before Codification', pp.1-2.

and 'football appeared a favourite diversion'.²⁵ Curry and Dunning criticised Harvey's extant football culture theory on the grounds that too few examples of popular football exist.²⁶ This work adds a small number of such examples in a previously under-researched locale. Despite the evidence to suggest that football was being played by all classes of Bradfordians, local publications, in this case a book produced to celebrate the centenary of the incorporation of Bradford, reinforced the view that football was effectively the product of the public schools:

Football was only played by the public schools, except for the rough and tumble games which used to be played in some places at Shrove Tide.²⁷

As Richards argued no one can rationally claim to have invented an activity as elemental as kicking or running with a ball.²⁸ Although the large-scale folk football matches had been largely suppressed by the mid-1800s, Cunningham

²⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 22 Sept. 1859; Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.56; Sidney Pollard, *The Genesis of Modern Management, a study of the industrial revolution in Great Britain* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1965), p.182. Crump described such outings as 'almost ritualistic displays outings and excursions, holidays and celebrations of major events in the history of the firm and the lives of the ruling family'. Pollard saw them as backward looking and almost feudal. Although paternalism lived on into the 20th century in the guise of workplace sporting associations, as Pollard noted, by then 'it was the shareholders that were being feasted, not the workers'.

²⁶ Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, 'The Problem with Revisionism, how new data on the origins of modern football have led to hasty conclusions', *Soccer and Society*, 14, no.4, (2013), p. 434.

²⁷ *Bradford, 1847-1947* (Bradford: Yorkshire Observer, 1947).

²⁸ Huw Richards, *A Game for Hooligans, the history of Rugby Union* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2006), pp.26-28.

wrote 'it seems highly likely that the more casual practice of kicking a ball around, a practice much closer to the modern game of football, survived'.²⁹ Indeed, it is important to remember that, as Kitching noted, 'traditional football games were not restricted to the mass or melee games'. Small-scale matches, the game at Spinkwell being one example, were being played all over England and southern Scotland from at least the eighteenth century.³⁰ The casual nature ensures that no records were created and it is the reported disputes that have to be relied upon to lend weight to Cunningham's speculation that 'middle class missionaries found it unnecessary to spend time converting the working class natives; the latter were already enthusiastic lovers of the game'.³¹ The concept that the middle classes spread the game to an entirely ignorant population is surely stretching credulity.³² As Cunningham observed it relies too heavily on a public school bias and 'ignores the continuous history of football as a popular sport'. Kitching's conclusion that Rugby and Eton rules 'may now be regarded as formalisations of games already being played in wider society' is convincing and is arguably supported by events taking place in Bradford.³³ Hay *et al* argued that modern football was a game 'created

²⁹ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (Croom Helm, 1980), pp.127-8.

³⁰ Gavin Kitching, 'Old Football and the New Codes: some thoughts on the origins of football debate and suggestions for further research', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 28, issue 13, 2011, p.1735.

³¹ Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, pp.127-8.

³² Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game, a history of British football* (Harlow: Pearson, 2008), pp. 26-9; Holt, 'Football and the Urban', p.71.

³³ Kitching, 'Old Football and New Codes', p.1735.

by the fusion of two forces; the footballing cultures within the public schools and the football played in the wider community'. It is difficult to ignore their conclusion that the 'rapid and almost universal spread' of both codes of football post 1870 could not have occurred without an extant and popular football culture.³⁴ Collins summed up the current state of the debate thus:

All serious historians accept that games of varying degrees of formality continued to be played in the first half of the nineteenth century and that residual knowledge of football survived among the working classes in parallel with the growth of the game in the public schools.³⁵

However, the link between the mass folk football games and codified football can only be subjective. Although Swain sought to prove a cultural continuity between folk football and the early development of codified football in east Lancashire, it is difficult to disagree with Russell when he surmised that 'the significance of the set-piece games for the later development of mass team sports is not particularly clear'.³⁶ Swain's article sought to deepen the history of football in east Lancashire. However, the use of a report of a 'football' match played in the village of Turton in 1830 is questionable. Swain quotes an

³⁴ Hay, Harvey & Smith, 'Football Before Codification,' p.2.

³⁵ Collins, 'Early Football', p.8.

³⁶ Peter Swaine, 'Cultural Continuity and Football in Nineteenth-century Lancashire', *Sport in History*, Vol.28, No.4, Dec. 2008, pp.567-8; Dave Russell, *Football and the English, a social history of Association Football, 1863-1995* (Carnegie, 1997), p.7.

article in the *Darwen News* of March 1878 that reported interviews with participants of the 1830 match.³⁷ In it the players describe what appears to be a folk football match, albeit one played on a smaller scale.³⁸ Even the use of the word football to describe the game is fraught with problems, as newspapers, right into the twentieth century, often used the word football to mean Rugby Union, Northern Union and Association Football.³⁹ Sometimes this could even occur on the same page of the same newspaper. Reading Swain's account it seems impossible to know what code of football was being played in east Lancashire in the 1830s. There appears to be a growing academic consensus that prior to the 1870s there was 'no clear distinction between handling and kicking games'.⁴⁰ It is a big leap indeed to link the formation of Turton Football Club in 1871 with the game being played in the area some forty years previously. A comparison could be made with Manningham Football Club who played Rugby Union, Northern Union and Association Football within a single decade.⁴¹ If an established club, with a large membership, income and support, could so easily switch codes, how much simpler would it be for a village team? From the 1870s the development

³⁷ Peter Swain, 'Cultural Continuity', pp.567-8.

³⁸ Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.34-5. Offers a discussion on differing scale and rules of folk football.

³⁹ Collins, 'Early Football', p.10.

⁴⁰ Kitching, 'Old Football and New Codes', p.1736.

⁴¹ Manningham played Rugby Union between 1878 and 1895, Northern Union 1895 and 1903 and football as Bradford City from 1903 to the present day.

of professional football in east Lancashire is well defined, the arrival of the Scottish professionals is an indicator of that fact. However, prior to that date, and especially the developments described in the 1830s and 1840s, could have easily been rugby football as opposed to the round ball game. Simply because the area became a hot bed of professional football is not strong enough evidence that the 'football' played thirty or forty years previously was an early version of Association Football.

iii Public Schools and the Formation of Bradford FC

As documented earlier football was being played by the pupils of Bradford Grammar School from at least 1720.⁴² What type of football played is not recorded. In all probability it will have been a scaled down version of the folk football matches played between communities in connection with fairs, feasts and holidays.⁴³ A mixture of handling and kicking is likely to have been allowed, any rules being locally agreed. This *ad hoc* football may have not been introduced to the school by a master, but could just have as easily been initiated by the pupils. Of course, this applies to all the schools and colleges mentioned in this text. The codification of football, which eventually spilt football into association football and rugby, has been associated with the

⁴² William Scruton, *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford* (Bradford: 1889), p.82.

⁴³ Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split, class, culture and the origins of rugby league football* (Frank Cass, 1998), pp.1-3.

public schools. Historians, however, have debated its significance being roughly divided between, what Taylor described as, the orthodox theory of Dunning and Sheard, the spread and codification of the football codes by public schoolboys, and the revisionist views of Harvey and Goulstone, who cite lower middle and working class involvement in the development of the games.⁴⁴ Recently Dunning and Curry argued for a more balanced approach, where a mixture of influences such as public schools, local grammar schools and variations on street football came together when the early football clubs were formed.⁴⁵

The enabler of the orthodox theory was an educational revolution, which, according to Mangan, swept through the public schools between 1860 and 1900 and resulted in athleticism becoming 'universally accepted'.⁴⁶ Russell on the other hand has urged caution arguing that boys from Yorkshire's leading families in the 1840s and 1850s did not usually go to high status public schools.⁴⁷ Indeed, Hardman has claimed that the eventual success of

⁴⁴ Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game* (Harlow: Pearson), 2008); Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (Routledge, 2005); Adrian Harvey, *Football, the first hundred years, the untold story* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005); John Goulstone, 'The Working Class Origins of Modern Football', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17, 1, (2008), pp.135-43.

⁴⁵ Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, 'The Problem with Revisionism, how new data on the origins of modern football have led to hasty conclusions', *Soccer and Society*, 14, no.4, (2013), pp.13-14.

⁴⁶ J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Frank Cass, 2000), p.68.

⁴⁷ Dave Russell, *Football and the English, a social history of English football in England, 1863-1995* (Preston: Carnegie, 1997), p.18.

institutions such as Bradford and Manchester Grammar Schools restrained the fashion among the commercial middle class of patronising the 'neo-medieval boarding schools ... such as Eton'.⁴⁸ However, as Collins has discerned, the cult of athleticism was strong in many northern schools: Bramham College, Broughton College, Leeds Grammar School, St. Peter's School (York) and the Manchester schools, Broughton, Chorlton and Victoria Park being given as examples.⁴⁹

This cult of athleticism, and its bedfellow muscular Christianity, has been studied in great depth and only a brief overview is necessary here. In an interesting parallel with the social control elements of organised sport used to civilise the lower orders, a debate touched on in the previous chapter, at the public schools of Harrow and Marlborough the inspiration behind the initial introduction of athleticism was a need to impose order on the pupils and replace 'poaching, rat hunting and poultry stealing' with 'cricket, football and wholesome sports'.⁵⁰ Once order had been established a new moral code could be put in place. In particular, three sets of values became enmeshed: imperial Darwinism – the God-granted right of the white man to rule, civilise and baptise the inferior coloured races; institutional Darwinism – the

⁴⁸ Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford*, p.111.

⁴⁹ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.8-9.

⁵⁰ Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp.23-7.

cultivation of physical and psychological stamina at school in preparation for the rigours of imperial duty; and the gentlemen's education – the nurture of leadership qualities for military conquest abroad and political domination at home.⁵¹ Would such overtly imperialist and establishment values be transferable to an industrial urban centre such as Bradford?

Jackson has stated that, prior to W.E. Forster's 1869 Endowed Schools Act, the grammar school system contained 'scandalous examples of grossly inefficient schools with only a handful of pupils'.⁵² Bradford Grammar School could be singled out as an example as in 1864 it was said to be in 'a very bad state' and had only forty-two pupils and three masters. Jacob Behrens, a German non-conformist wool merchant, prevented from involvement with Bradford Grammar School as he was not an Anglican, founded the Bradford High School in 1864 with the stated aim 'that sons might receive a good education without their having to be sent away to school'.⁵³ In the wake of Forster's Endowed Schools Act, and the success of the High School, Behrens was invited to become a governor of a reconstituted Bradford Grammar School.⁵⁴ Two other new governors joined Behrens: William Byles, the non-conformist

⁵¹ Mangan, *Athleticism*, p.136.

⁵² Patrick Jackson, *Education Act Forster, a political biography of W.E. Forster (1818-1886)* (Associated University Press, 1997), pp.121-3.

⁵³ Law, *Story of Bradford*, pp.264-6.

⁵⁴ Hall, *Story of Bradford*, p.67.

editor of the liberal *Bradford Observer*; and Edward Ripley, the Methodist owner of an enormous dye works.⁵⁵ All three were liberals and they transformed the governing body that since 1662 had been 'strictly Anglican and Tory'.⁵⁶

The Grammar School appears to have had a lukewarm attitude to games. In 1877 only thirty boys were reported to have been regular football players and although it grew to nearly sixty by the following year. These were low numbers in comparison to similar institutions from an intake of 450. By 1879 it was reported that no sports were entered into during the winter 'except a football match got up by the VI in their own classroom. No goal was scored, and only one window was broken'.⁵⁷ When a subscription appeal was launched to purchase a cricket field in 1889 the school did not mention the fact that they also planned to lay out a rugby pitch as 'some parents thought it a vulgar, rough game'. Julius Delius, father of the composer Frederick, was said to have been firmly of that opinion.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 7 June 1870. Behrens and Ripley were co-opted governors. Byles was elected. See appendix 2 for a list of co-optative and *ex-officio* governors

⁵⁶ Tony Moxon, *Hoc Age, Bradford Grammar School 1818-1996* (Bradford: MCB University Press, 1999), p.74.

⁵⁷ Moxon, *Hoc Age*, pp.136-7.

⁵⁸ Moxon, *Hoc Age*, p.177.

Of course, not every Bradford family with the means to send their boys to public schools concurred with the ethos of Bradford Grammar School. As Mangan noted 'many nineteenth-century and twentieth-century industrialists were strong supporters of the public school system and ... on occasion, they aspired to imperial careers for their sons to better their own image'.⁵⁹ One product of such a system was Harry Garnett whose family owned a paper mill at Otley. He was educated at Blackheath Preparatory School (his brothers had attended Rugby School), whose pupils founded Blackheath Football Club in 1860.⁶⁰ Garnett became one of the most influential figures in the history of Yorkshire rugby, he was: Bradford FC captain 1874 to 1881; a committee member of the Yorkshire Rugby Union (YRU) from 1874; YRU president between 1876 and 1884; and president of the English Rugby Union between 1889 and 1890.⁶¹ Harry Garnett's influence was probably central in forming Bradford FC's self image as an elite organisation. His education at Blackheath may have been one of the explanations as to why Bradford played full hacking rules, which was in contrast to many other northern clubs.⁶² Indeed, it is likely that he was one of the driving forces behind Bradford's early adoption of Rugby School rules.

⁵⁹ Mangan, *Athleticism*, p.92.

⁶⁰ Rev. Frank Marshall, *Football, the Rugby Union Game* (Cassell, 1892), pp.330-1; *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 12 Jan. 1901.

⁶¹ Marshall, *Football*, pp.409-24.

⁶² Collins, *Great Split*, pp.9-11.

For those unable to, or unwilling to, send their offspring south there were several Yorkshire schools to choose from who had a strong games ethic. One such establishment was Bramham College. The influence of the now defunct establishment on the evolution of rugby in Yorkshire cannot be overestimated. The college was founded in 1842-43 by the liberal non-conformist Dr Benjamin Bentley Haigh and attracted the sons of many of Yorkshire's leading families.⁶³ The sporting ethos of the college was, in its own words, 'muscular Christianity ... represented by notices of drill, cricket and football'.⁶⁴ The influence of the college can be judged by a football game against Wharfedale College at Boston Spa on 23 November 1864, when the Bramham team contained the members of the founding families of Bradford FC (Jack Ingham); Huddersfield FC (Harry Beardsell); and Hull FC (R.J. Wade).⁶⁵ Other founder members of Bradford FC attended Steeton Hall boarding school of around sixty to seventy boys, situated three miles to the west of Keighley. Subjects taught to the 'young gentlemen' included French, German, drawing, music and drill.⁶⁶ The school had been established by Bradford-born Joseph Riley in 1856, who had ran a similar venture at Benton Park, Rawdon.⁶⁷ The

⁶³ *Bramham, the village in times past* (Bramham: Bramham in Times Past, 1994), p.81.

⁶⁴ *Bramham College magazine*, July 1864, p.57.

⁶⁵ *Bramham College magazine*, December 1864.

⁶⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 28 June 1860; *Leeds Mercury*, 7 July 1860.

⁶⁷ *Leeds Mercury*, 12 July 1856.

school closed and was moved to Pannal near Harrogate by Riley's son following the proprietor's death in November 1862.⁶⁸

Bradford Football Club was formed in 1863 by 'a party of youths who had been initiated into the game in their school days at Steeton and Bramham'.⁶⁹ Both were schools relatively local to Bradford, thus of all the theories regarding early football clubs, the neatest fit to the formation of Bradford FC is that proposed by Curry and Dunning as it is known that the new club also attracted former public school boys such as the Blackheath educated Harry Garnett and pupils of Bradford Grammar School.⁷⁰ Oates Ingham was elected as leader of the junior club.⁷¹ Ingham, the son of the owner of Lingfield Dyeworks, had existing ties with Bradford Cricket Club as the dyeworks band had serenaded crowds prior to matches on several occasions.⁷² It is likely that his personal ties facilitated Bradford FC utilising the cricket club's Horton Road ground for two winters.⁷³ Bradford was the first rugby club to be

⁶⁸ *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 8 Nov. 1862.

⁶⁹ Item 9722, 'collection of newspaper articles relating to Bradford Football Club from 1885', p. 80. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham; Marshall, *Football*, p.423.

⁷⁰ Curry and Dunning, 'Problem with Revisionism', pp.13-14; Harvey, *Football, the first hundred years*, p.57. Alternatively, Harvey claimed that only five teams were formed by ex-public schoolboy 'missionaries' between 1864 and 1872. Thus Bradford, formed by 'missionaries' in 1863, fall just outside Harvey's time frame.

⁷¹ J.V. Greenwood, *Bradford Rugby Union Football Club, centenary brochure, 1866-1966* (Bradford: 1966).

⁷² *Bradford Observer*, 19 June 1874; 20 July 1874.

⁷³ Phil Sharpe, *The Bradford Bystander*, Vol.2, No.15, Nov. 1965.

formed in Yorkshire and among the earliest clubs countrywide, other notable formations in the north being: Liverpool (1857), Manchester (1860) and Sale (1861).⁷⁴ However, like arguably the majority of other clubs, at first Bradford played a game that was later described as 'a mixture of rugby and association'.⁷⁵ Apparently, handling was not allowed, except in order to catch the ball, and the goalposts did not have a cross bar.⁷⁶ A set of rules was agreed, but undoubtedly they would have been altered to facilitate games against opposing teams. It is more evidence that reinforces the theory that football and rugby did not definitively separate until the 1870s.⁷⁷

Williams claimed that games between 1863 and 1868 were often *ad hoc* affairs: captain's side against secretary's side; games with universities and schools. In 1866, with more opposition becoming available, it was decided to put in place a formal structure necessary to participate in an organised fixture schedule of

⁷⁴ Nigel Williams, *Bradford Northern, the history, 1863-1989*, (Bradford: Bradford Northern RLFC, 1989), p.1; Lincoln Allison & Rusty MacLean, 'There's a Deathless Myth on the Close Tonight: re-assessing Rugby's place in the history of sport', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol.29, no.13, Sept. 2012, p.1880. Liverpool were formed in 1857 by former Rugby pupil Richard Sykes, three years later it is claimed he helped found Manchester FC, which would make that club older than Bradford.

⁷⁵ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.375. Crump discerned that early football in Leicester was largely middle class and that both codes of football were played.

⁷⁶ Item 9722, 'collection of newspaper articles relating to Bradford Football Club from 1885', p. 80. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham.

⁷⁷ Tony Collins, 'History, Theory and the "Civilising Process"', *Sport in History*, 25, 2 (Aug. 2005), p.296; Kitching, 'Old Football and New Codes', p.1736; Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game, a history of British football* (Harlow: Pearson, 2008), p.30.

rugby games.⁷⁸ It appears that it is only at this moment that Bradford fully adopted the rugby game. That decision may have been a pragmatic one rather than a desire to play the rugby code as opposed to association football, in that the majority of the available opposition within a reasonable travelling distance played the rugby game, or a version close enough to it to allow an easy conversion. The regional preference for rugby will be returned to later in the text. By 1874 the club had moved to a ground at rural Apperley Bridge. They had departed Bradford Cricket Club after two seasons following complaints about damage to the pitch and had spent the intervening period at a field in Gillington. The new ground was advertised as adjacent to the Stansfield Arms and a one-minute walk from Apperley Bridge railway station.⁷⁹ During the 1874-5 season the club won every match it played and did not concede a single point.⁸⁰ The following year Bradford was described in a report on an end of season match against a Bradford and District representative team as the district's 'premier club ... [who] incontestably proved their superiority'.⁸¹

As interest in the rugby began to grow beyond those who had attended public schools, business and social connections became one means of attracting

⁷⁸ Williams, *Bradford Northern*, p.1.

⁷⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 1 Oct. 1874.

⁸⁰ Williams, *Bradford Northern*, p.2.

⁸¹ *Bradford Observer*, 11 Apr. 1876.

participants.⁸² Ingham is reported to have said, when questioned as to the respectability of his fledgling Bradford club, 'well, you know me and do business with my firm'. There appears to have been a growing social prestige attached to playing rugby that, as Kitching noted, did not apply to the older versions of football.⁸³ The membership fees charged by Bradford FC during 1868 was 2s 6d, exactly the same amount as Huddersfield and Hull. As Collins states, the fees were beyond the reach of the wider population, making the early clubs socially exclusive.⁸⁴ Initially, there were few spectators and none of the twenty-one provincial clubs listed in the 1868 *Football Annual* charged admission to their matches. However, only two years later spectators, at first almost exclusively middle class according to Collins, began attending matches in significant numbers.⁸⁵ As the majority of clubs in Lancashire and Yorkshire had a close relationship with the textile trade, the social and business connections built by industrialism could be utilised to organise matches. Collins claimed that, in a limited sense, rugby thus became 'the recreational medium for municipal and trade rivalry'.⁸⁶ This built on the

⁸² Alison Twells, 'A Christian and Civilised Land, the British middle class and the civilising mission, 1820-42', Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, eds., *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism, middle-class identity in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.48. Although a few decades later, Bradford FC could be argued to be part of the 'intersecting and overlapping' networks that could be broadly titled middle class.

⁸³ Kitching, 'Old Football and New Codes', p.1742.

⁸⁴ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.9-10.

⁸⁵ Collins, *Great Split*, p.12.

⁸⁶ Collins, *Great Split*, p.17.

existing competition in club cricket documented in the previous chapter. Indeed, the link between cricket and rugby was intimate and across the north many cricket clubs either facilitated or formed rugby clubs.⁸⁷

The introduction of the Yorkshire Cup competition in 1877 was the catalyst for a series of events that would change the nature and face of rugby in Yorkshire and beyond. Cup competitions were drivers of cultural change seemingly wherever they were played. This is especially notable with football. Williams claims that football's first ever knock out competition was the Sheffield Cup (1867). As a direct result of the success of the cup competition the Sheffield Football Association formed.⁸⁸ The Scottish Cup, inaugurated in 1873, had by its second year made football an obsession in Glasgow. The city was reportedly 'full of errand boys forming clubs with high sounding names and playing in coups and railway arches'.⁸⁹ In England the FA Cup (1871) had a rather more sluggish start and it took, according to Taylor, a decade before it became a truly national competition. However, by the 1880s wherever a new association was formed a cup competition quickly followed. The Welsh Cup (1877) was initiated the year after the national association was founded.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁷ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.19-20.

⁸⁸ Graham Williams, *The Code War, English football under the historical spotlight* (Harefield: Yore, 1994), p.32.

⁸⁹ Hugh Keevans & Kevin McCarra, *100 Cups, the story of the Scottish Cup* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1985), p.11.

⁹⁰ Taylor, *Association Game*, pp.41-4.

Lancashire Cup (1879), allied to the involvement, and success, of the county's clubs in the FA Cup, widened the appeal of football, and the fact that the conservative Lancashire Rugby Union refused to sanction a cup competition aided football's rapid advance in the red rose county. By contrast the early establishment of the Yorkshire Cup probably held back the football tide for three decades.⁹¹

Bradford's Harry Garnett and a wool merchant Frederick Schutt tabled the motion that gave birth to the cup before the YRU.⁹² The latter was the son of Herman Schutt, born in Hamburg in 1819 and head of the wool merchants H. Schutt & Co. The family home was 4 Cunliffe Villas in the heart of suburban middle class Manningham.⁹³ Once again, the involvement of second generation Germans in sport challenges assumptions that the German community confined its amusements to the high culture of events such as the subscription concerts at St. George's Hall. The stated aim of the Yorkshire Cup was to make rugby the game of choice for every boy in the county. It was hoped that this would raise the standard of rugby to such an extent that the white rose county would be capable of meeting and defeating the rest of

⁹¹ Russell, *Football and the English*, pp.19-20.

⁹² Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.9.

⁹³ *The Post Office Bradford Directory 1879-80* (Bradford: Byles & Son, 1879), p.456.

England.⁹⁴ While that aim was to be ultimately successful, the manner in which the cup popularised the game as a spectator sport was to have unintended consequences. The cup proved to be an immediate success with large attendances being attracted to the cup-ties. Bradford's Yorkshire Cup exit, at the hands of eventual winners Wakefield Trinity in 1879, prompted a meeting of players from clubs from across Bradford to consider how the strongest possible side could be fielded from the available talent within the district with the aim of winning the cup. Bradford FC faced accusations of being too exclusive.⁹⁵ The players' meeting was reconvened following the annual Bradford FC against Bradford & District end of season game at Apperley Bridge. Bradford's captain, Harry Garnett, agreed that it was 'very necessary that Bradford be better represented' in the Yorkshire Challenge Cup. The accusations of elitism appear to have been acknowledged and, in exchange for an influx of the district's best playing talent, the club was completely reorganised and a provisional committee formed.⁹⁶ A subsequent meeting of twenty-three players from clubs across the district met at Leuchters's Restaurant and agreed to join Bradford FC. A new committee was elected with Harry Garnett remaining captain.⁹⁷ A correspondent to the

⁹⁴ Huw Richards, *A Game for Hooligans, the history of rugby union* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2006), p.58.

⁹⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 19Apr. 1879.

⁹⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 21 Apr. 1879.

⁹⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 25 Apr.1879. A list of the new committee appears in the appendix.

Bradford Observer, supporting reforms at the club, concluded by stating 'there still remains the question of a field nearer the town which, I think, is a very important one'.⁹⁸ As described in the previous chapter, the desire for a central ground led the club into a merger with Bradford Cricket Club and the development of the Park Avenue grounds in 1880.

Although it took the reconstituted Bradford five years to win the Yorkshire Cup (1884), the club had, by that time, transformed itself into 'England's premier club'.⁹⁹ Bradford boasted several England players: Tommy Dobson, Laurie Hickson and Jack Toothill being notable examples.¹⁰⁰ The move to Park Avenue had brought financial rewards with profits increasing from £300 in 1880 to £2,000 in 1886.¹⁰¹ The fixture list featured the country's finest clubs, but it had been a cup competition that had shaken Bradford from its elitist torpor. Prowess on the playing field had transformed the club into the civic representative on the rugby field, but at the same time it was an increasingly commercialised organisation. A strong case could be made that the amateurism of the club had been abandoned following the move from Apperley Bridge to Park Avenue. This was reflected when, a combination of growing attendances, profits and competition for Yorkshire CCC matches

⁹⁸ *Bradford Observer*, 22 Apr. 1879.

⁹⁹ Marshall, *Football*, p.426; Williams, *Bradford Northern*, p.2.

¹⁰⁰ Williams, *Bradford Northern*, p.2.

¹⁰¹ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, pp.29-30.

which intensified with the opening of Headingley, Leeds, saw proposals accepted in December 1891 by the two sectional committees for the incorporation of BCA&FC.¹⁰² The object of the limited company was to buy the ground from F.S. Powell MP at a sale price of £13,000, subject to road improvements. Additional land needed to be purchased in order to extend the football and cricket enclosures. It was reported that there was no financial obstacle to the scheme as funds at hand amounted to £11,000 and that £1,000 was being banked every year after expenditure.¹⁰³ In order to effectively compete Bradford had no option but to, in the words of Collins, 'function as a capitalist enterprise'.¹⁰⁴ Bradford's self-image as an elite club remained a constant narrative in the local press, but as the crowds, and their money, poured through the Park Avenue turnstiles in ever growing numbers the contradictions would multiply. It is perhaps ironic that it was Bradford's Blackheath-educated advocate of hacking, Harry Garnett, who had opened the Pandora's box of cup rugby.

Bradford's 1884 Yorkshire Cup Final victory at Leeds gave rise to scenes that were to become familiar rituals, whether it was in rugby or football, over the

¹⁰² William Powell, *The Wisden Guide to Cricket Grounds* (Stanley Paul, 1992), pp.485-7; William Powell, *The Official ECB Guide to Cricket Grounds* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003), pp.382-3.

¹⁰³ *Leeds Mercury*, 27 Nov. 1891.

¹⁰⁴ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society, a short history* (Routledge, 2013), p.52.

coming decades.¹⁰⁵ Around 6,000 supporters boarded special trains in order to support their team and those left behind besieged the newspaper and telegraphic offices in order to gain up to the minute news. Bradford easily defeated Hull and returned to Bradford to find the Great Horton Brass Band and several thousand well-wishers waiting to greet them at the Midland Station. The players were carried shoulder high through the streets en route to a celebration dinner.¹⁰⁶ Clear evidence of what Holt described as the 'transformation of Cup Final celebrations from a spontaneous commemoration of club to an official and orchestrated civic ceremonial'.¹⁰⁷ Russell built on that idea stating:

The pattern of civic footballing celebration was well established by the end of the 1880s ... the central ingredients, almost clichés of the civic repository, involved the triumphal greeting of the team at the station, often with a band or bands in attendance to play Handel's 'See the conquering hero comes', a procession through the town, and finally a public dinner at which civic dignitaries thanked the team for bringing such honour to the community.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Taylor, *Association Game*, p.97.

¹⁰⁶ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.30.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Holt, 'Sport and the British: Its origins, ideas and composition', *Sport in History*, volume 31, number 2, June 2011, p.122; Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p. 392. Crump noted a similar home coming routine in Leicester.

¹⁰⁸ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.65.

iv Manningham FC, a people's team?

The success of the Yorkshire Cup brought with it a democratisation of the rugby game. New players and spectators came flooding into the game. It has been argued that Halifax's victory in the inaugural final inspired the formation of new clubs whose social structures and ethos differed significantly from rugby's founding fathers.¹⁰⁹ One such club appeared in the township of Manningham.

Although just over a mile from the centre of Bradford, in the 1870s the township of Manningham had a distinct identity rather than the suburb status it was to assume as Bradford expanded and subsumed its neighbour. However, the township was changing and that was reflected in two rugby clubs that carried its name in the 1870s. The first published mention of football in Manningham is an 1873 advertisement for a match 'to be played in the field below Manningham Mills'.¹¹⁰ The area was still mainly middle class in the early 1870s but the reference to the mills is an indication of an environment that was rapidly developing. Sheeran argues that Manningham as a suburb began in 1832 with the construction of the Bolton Royd villa for

¹⁰⁹ Collins, *Great Split*, p.24.

¹¹⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 4 Oct. 1873.

J.G. Horsfall, a spinner and later worsted manufacturer. Numerous large villa residences followed, built to the east of Manningham Lane for a carriage-owning elite looking to escape the noise and pollution of Bradford.¹¹¹ By the 1860s middle class homes were being constructed at places such as Peel Square, Hanover Square and Southfield Square.¹¹² Cannadine described the years 1820 to 1870 as the golden age of exclusive middle class suburbia. From the 1870s, however, improved public transport brought the suburbs within reach of the lower middle class and skilled workers. As Cannadine suggested:

The tram and the people it brought with it did not so much *liberate* the middle classes from the town centre as *threaten* their exclusiveness on the periphery.¹¹³

Improved public transport also facilitated the industrialisation of Manningham that began in earnest during the 1870s: Drummonds Mills 1869; Manningham locomotive depot 1872; Manningham Mills 1872-80 being notable examples.¹¹⁴ The final three decades of the nineteenth century saw the

¹¹¹ Sheeran, *Buildings of Bradford*, p.63.

¹¹² Simon Taylor & Kathryn Gibson, *Manningham, character and diversity in a Bradford suburb* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2010), p.47.

¹¹³ David Cannadine, 'Victorian Cities: how different?', R.J. Morris & Richard Rodger, eds., *The Victorian City, a reader in British urban history, 1820-1914* (Longman, 1993), p.126.

¹¹⁴ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.4. The evidence from Manningham perhaps contradicts Meller's argument that suburban train and tram networks 'made a clear division between work-place and residence'

open space between Manningham Mills and Lister Park (the location of the 1873 rugby match) fill up with lower class terraced housing.¹¹⁵ The pattern that emerges is one of a growing working class population and that appears to be reflected in the social structures of the area's rugby clubs. Despite these developments there is little doubt that Manningham remained Bradford's 'premier suburb' until at least the inter-war period.¹¹⁶

In 1877 when Bradford FC appealed to the district's players to flock to their colours in order to win civic glory for Bradford in the Yorkshire Cup, several players left the first Manningham club and it subsequently folded. The following year, 1878, a new club was founded in the township and was named Manningham Clarence.¹¹⁷ The team line-ups that appeared in the *Bradford Observer* shows little continuity between the two Manningham clubs, which suggests that there was little or no connection between them, aside from the fact that they both purported to represent, or perhaps simply signify they were from, Manningham. The Clarence club initially played in Manningham Park, probably because the father of founder players Frank and Fred Richmond was the curator of Manningham Hall.¹¹⁸ They appear to have

¹¹⁵ Sheeran, *Victorian Houses*, p.27.

¹¹⁶ Sheeran, *Victorian Houses*, p.27.

¹¹⁷ The Clarence name presumably refers to the Duke of Clarence, later William IV, the 'Sailor King', or a similarly named public house, although there appears not to have been a pub of that name in the Manningham area during that period.

¹¹⁸ *Telegraph & Argus*, 24 July 1953. Partial reprint of 1899 Manningham FC Bazaar Handbook.

been the winter offshoot of Manningham Clarence Cricket Club who played in the park and shared several players with the infant rugby club.¹¹⁹ The formation of association football and rugby clubs by cricketers seeking a sporting outlet during the winter months has been extensively referenced and it was one of the most common ways in which a football club of either codes was formed.¹²⁰

In their second season Manningham moved just over a mile to the north to Shipley with a new home being established near the Branch Hotel. The Clarence tag was dropped and the club renamed itself Manningham Albion.¹²¹ No reason is offered for the change of name in newspaper reports, but it may have represented a loosening of ties with Manningham Clarence Cricket Club. The fact that the club felt able to charge spectators to watch games is suggestive of an increasing maturity. Indeed, the move away from Manningham Park may have been made so that the club could become a gate taking entity. However, with an average gate income of just 2s 9d players were expected to provide their own incidentals and cover travelling

¹¹⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 15 July 1858, 11 May 1874, 2 June 1874, 11 June 1874, 10 June 1875, 1 July 1875. Manningham Clarence Cricket Club was in existence since at least 1858. From 1874 frequent references are made to their homes games being played in Manningham Park.

¹²⁰ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, p.19; Mason, *Association Football*, p.21; Russell, *Football and the English*, p.14; Trevor Delaney, *The Grounds of Rugby League* (Keighley: Delaney, 1991), p.25.

¹²¹ *Bradford Observer*, 7 May 1873. A Bradford Albion Cricket Club was playing since at least 1873.

expenses.¹²² As no records have survived regarding the cost of watching Manningham's games it is difficult to estimate the numbers of spectators they were attracting and how admission fees compared with other Bradford rugby clubs. However, we do know that in 1879 association football clubs were charging between 2d and 6d per match.¹²³ If we assume that Manningham were charging the lowest possible fee, a farthing (quarter of a penny), the average number of paying spectators would be 132. What is remarkable is that a club barely one year old was able to charge spectators.

In the summer of 1880 the club rented a field back in Manningham. The ground took its name from the adjacent Carlisle Road.¹²⁴ Although writing about football clubs, Taylor's observation that 'any club with ambitions of long-term viability required some form of patronage' from businesses, wealthy individuals or a gate-paying public is transferrable to rugby in Yorkshire and Lancashire.¹²⁵ Given that Manningham's first home ground was adjacent to the Branch public house and when they returned to Manningham their headquarters was the Carlisle public house directly across the road from the ground, it is tempting to ask whether the patronage of publicans was linked to the club's change of home ground? In the absence of

¹²² *Telegraph & Argus*, 24 July 1953.

¹²³ Mason, *Association Football*, p.149.

¹²⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 5 Oct. 1880.

¹²⁵ Taylor, *Association Game*, p.78.

surviving club records it can only be conjecture, but, as Collins and Vamplew noted, although pubs regularly rented out sections of their pubs as changing rooms or venues for club meetings, the fact that few other venues could offer such facilities raises doubts as to whether publicans were directly involved in the running of clubs or whether they were simply facilitators. Manningham's subsequent change of headquarters, but not home ground, to the Junction pub, supports Collins and Vamplew's theory that in relation to both codes, 'rather than being an adjunct of the pub, the pub almost became an adjunct of football'. The hosting of club meetings, posting of results or displaying of trophies could easily move to another public house if a publican moved on, better terms were offered or the club-publican relationship broke down.¹²⁶

The move back to Manningham saw regular four figure crowds attending games. Newspaper reports give something of an indication as to the social composition of the crowds. In 1884 it was suggested that around one quarter of the 5,000 crowd that witnessed Manningham's opening game of the season against Hull were women.¹²⁷ Initially women were admitted free of charge to matches but as competition between clubs intensified charges for women spectators were introduced.¹²⁸ The practice of charging women for admission

¹²⁶ Collins and Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers*, pp.11-13; Croll, *Civilizing the Urban*, pp.144-5.

¹²⁷ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, p.43.

¹²⁸ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, p.202.

was reflected in the Football League. Russell and Taylor noted that Preston North End decided to introduce charges when 2,000 women attended a match in 1885.¹²⁹ As Collins argued, by at least the 1890s, attitudes towards women among the rugby hierarchy became dismissive as a culture of manliness took hold.¹³⁰ By the end of the century Collins claimed that the attendance of women at matches was rarely reported on and quoted reports that women did not wish to mix with largely male crowds whose use of foul language was endemic.¹³¹ A male culture and escapism from the household was also discerned among football crowds by Russell.¹³² While crowd behaviour and culture may have been a factor, Beaven's argument that 'it was working-class males, free from the difficulties of balancing the family budget, who were the true beneficiaries of the economic circumstances of the late nineteenth-century' should receive due weight.¹³³ The primacy of male leisure and the associated spending patterns, particularly in working-class households, must have been a significant element in the retreat of women as spectators in both codes of football.¹³⁴ The fact that the long-running Manningham Mills strike of 1891, whose workforce comprised a significant number of women and

¹²⁹ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.56; Taylor, *Association Game*, p.99.

¹³⁰ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, p.128.

¹³¹ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, p.202.

¹³² Russell, *Football and the English*, p.64.

¹³³ Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, p.48.

¹³⁴ Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, pp.5-6.

children, did not have a notable impact on Manningham FC's finances. Male leisure spending appears to have been insulated from the undoubted financial pressures caused by the dispute. Manningham even played fund-raising matches to aid the strikers, which raises an interesting contradiction that some of those in attendance may have been both donators and recipients to the strike fund.¹³⁵ The Manningham Mills strike will be discussed in further detail in chapter four.

On the opening day of the 1884-5 season Manningham unveiled new claret and amber club colours, but no explanation was given for their adoption.¹³⁶ However, given the proximity of Belle Vue barracks, there is a possibility that Manningham adopted the claret and amber of the local regiment - the Prince of Wales' Own (West Yorkshire). The context of the times adds weight to that theory as throughout 1884 the Sudan Campaign, and in particular the Siege of Khartoum, dominated the newspapers. The Bradford MP William Forster took a prominent part in parliamentary debates and caused controversy when he criticised the hesitant policy of his own party and the danger to General Gordon at Khartoum. Although Forster would ultimately be proved to be correct in his analysis, his stance attracted hostility from the popular press, which in turn aroused anger among some of his constituents. The

¹³⁵ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, pp.113-14.

¹³⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 22 Sept. 1884.

embarrassment Forster's candid views caused to the government saw him being publicly censured by the Bradford Liberal Association.¹³⁷ Partly due to Forster's persistence, the government eventually dispatched reinforcements to Egypt, which included the Green Howards, the sister regiment to the Belle Vue based West Yorkshire Regiment.¹³⁸ Even before the drama at Khartoum, regiments were becoming a source of local pride, and were often a central part of civic ceremony and pageantry. By adopting the colours of the regiment it is possible that the rugby club was wishing to associate itself with the respectability and standing of the regiment. It could just as easily be interpreted as a rebuke to Forster, or even support for his criticism of the government and concern for General Gordon. Whatever the exact intentions the association with the military dovetails with Mackenzie's observation that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the esteem in which the army was held grew as a combination of fears of militarist European nationalism and recurrent invasions scares took root in the national imagination.¹³⁹

When Manningham took up residence at Carlisle Road in 1880 the surrounding land was fairly open. By 1885 building work had hemmed the

¹³⁷ Thomas Wemyss Reid, *Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster* (Chapman and Wall, 1888), pp.594-7.

¹³⁸ Geoffrey Powell, *The History of the Green Howards, three hundred years of service* (Arms and Armour, 1992), p.103.

¹³⁹ John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire, the manipulation of British public opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p.5.

ground in with rows of terraced houses. The expansion of mainly working class housing brought with it a concurrent school building programme. At Manningham's 1886 dinner the chairman informed the gathering of the need to find a new ground due to the compulsory purchase of Carlisle Road for the erection of a school. With only a single summer in which to find a site and construct a new ground Manningham's options were restricted by a number of factors. They had to find an undeveloped and affordable location. Unlike their rivals Bradford FC who drew their support from all corners of the town, Manningham could not pick a suitable site anywhere within the city; they were forced by the popularity of Bradford to restrict their horizons and remain as close as possible to their core support in the Manningham district.¹⁴⁰ The club's annual meeting, held on 21 May 1886, was told that the committee had identified a field at the bottom of Valley Parade. The chairman had received a telegram from the field's owners, the Midland Railway Company, offering a seven-year lease, with an annual rent of £20 10s.¹⁴¹ The development of Valley Parade tripled Manningham's membership and gave the club record gate receipts.¹⁴² But, as the president James Freeman explained in a later speech, the construction of the ground was financed by the club members:

¹⁴⁰ David Pendleton, *Paraders, the 125 year history of Valley Parade* (Shipley: Bantamspast, 2011), pp.8-10.

¹⁴¹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 22 May 1886.

¹⁴² *Bradford Observer*, 4 May 1887.

The club had not a three-penny bit in the locker when they started and succeeded by the enthusiastic support of the members. Money was loaned to the club purely for love – but they had been paid off with 5%, with the exception of those who were content to have some £200 in the club at that rate of interest.¹⁴³

v King Football: commercialism, populism and professionalism

The sophistication of Bradford's 'football' culture can be discerned partly from the commercial exploitation that emerged in parallel with the growing popularity of rugby as a spectator sport. Alongside the players and spectators arose, what Collins described as, 'armies of journalists ... sports promoters, sporting goods manufacturers and retailers'.¹⁴⁴ In an era when amateurism and respectability were being deployed as weapons in a conflict that would ultimately split rugby asunder, the businesses had the potential to raise conflicting and uncomfortable issues for the rugby authorities. Frequently the men running these businesses that profited from the popularity of sport, and in particularly rugby, were intimately connected with the hierarchy of the RFU. Their commercial activities can hardly have passed without notice, yet

¹⁴³ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 5 Dec. 1900.

¹⁴⁴ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.49.

while working class players were roundly condemned for acquiring employment in public houses or at a club patron's industrial business, the authorities remained silent about the entrepreneurial activities of middle class players and officials.

The exponential growth of participation in the codified sports brought with it an increased demand for manufactured equipment and clothing. For example, Russell identified that Manchester had a 'flourishing sports service industry' with twenty sports outfitters active in 1912.¹⁴⁵ Unfortunately, as Porter stated, little is known about the history of sports goods retailing.¹⁴⁶ However, given the potentially significant costs of starting such a business, it is likely that the entrepreneurs would most likely have been middle class with access to finance or someone with an existing connection to a sporting institution. One man who had a foot in both camps was Bradford's international rugby player John Joseph Hawcridge.¹⁴⁷ From at least 1886 he was one of a trio of entrepreneurs who ran the British Sports Depot.¹⁴⁸ From large premises in Bradford's town centre the company manufactured and sold equipment and clothing for: gymnasiums, swimming, skating, curling, cricket, golf, archery,

¹⁴⁵ Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', Dave Russell, ed., *Sport in Manchester, Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 20 (Manchester: 2009), p.2.

¹⁴⁶ Dilwyn Porter, 'Entrepreneurship', S.W. Pope and John Nauright, eds., *Routledge Companion to Sports History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p.205.

¹⁴⁷ Marshall, *Football*, p.429. Hawcridge was also one of the founders of Manningham FC.

¹⁴⁸ *Industries of Yorkshire*, (1866), p.210.

hockey, quoits, football and lawn tennis. The scale of the operation is illustrated by the fact that twenty-four employees (from a total of 124) were solely dedicated to the manufacture of footballs and their rugby balls had been selected by the RFU as the standard for size, shape and quality.¹⁴⁹ Their goods were reportedly distributed to all parts of Britain and the colonies. Indeed, in 1887 the New Zealand newspaper the *Otago Witness* reported on an enlargement of the British Sports Depot's premises and the comprehensive nature of the firm's catalogue.¹⁵⁰ However, the following year Hawcridge agreed a division of the company and he departed the British Sports Depot to concentrate on a 'hatters and hosiers' shop.¹⁵¹ Hawcridge's brother, William, continued trading as an 'athletic outfitter' and was based at the 'Skating Rink, Valley Parade' (adjacent to Manningham FC's ground) until his company was declared bankrupt in late 1890.¹⁵² J.J. Hawcridge's hat business was voluntarily wound up in 1893 and the famous England international died at San Francisco in 1905 aged only forty-two.¹⁵³

Despite Hawcridge's financial and mortal demise, there was money to be

¹⁴⁹ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.56. An interesting comparison might be made between the British Sports Depot and the, admittedly, much larger operation of William Shillcock whose firm sold between 40,000 and 50,000 footballs per year.

¹⁵⁰ *Otago Witness*, 27 May 1887.

¹⁵¹ *London Gazette*, 7 Dec. 1888.

¹⁵² *Edinburgh Gazette*, 28 Nov. 1890.

¹⁵³ *London Gazette*, 24 Feb. 1893.

made from sport's own industrial revolution. For those who took up directorships with clubs, or organisational roles within sporting bodies, taking direct profits was usually debarred. However, as Vamplew claimed, many did profit indirectly and perhaps one man that epitomised that was Tony Fattorini.¹⁵⁴ Probably the best known of the Bradford companies that diversified into sporting goods was the jeweller Fattorini's. Descended from Italian immigrants who arrived in Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, it was after the arrival in Bradford of Tony Fattorini in 1882 that 'the trade in sporting trophies was greatly increased'.¹⁵⁵ His interest in rugby probably stemmed from his schooling in Harrogate where he played rugby under the supervision of Teddy Bartram 'the famous Wakefield goal-kicker' and later the first player to be charged with professionalism by the Rugby Football Union.¹⁵⁶ Fattorini became a member of Manningham Rangers, whose ranks included players who would come to dominate rugby with Bradford and Manningham: Jack Toothill, George Firth, Ike Newton, Alf Barraclough and Rob Pocock. When the Rangers club disbanded Fattorini switched his allegiance to Manningham and so began a long association with the Valley Parade club that lasted into the twentieth century and the emergence of Bradford City AFC. The jewellery business began designing and producing:

¹⁵⁴ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.172.

¹⁵⁵ Patrick Beaver, *A Pedlar's Legacy, the origins and history of Empire Stores* (Henry Melland, 1981), p.44; *Industries of Yorkshire*, 1888, p.213.

¹⁵⁶ *Telegraph & Argus*, 8 Sept. 1931; Collins, *Great Split*, pp.49-50.

Gold and silver medals to schools and colleges, cups and medals to sporting clubs, awards for flower shows, chess clubs, learned societies and hundreds of other organisations throughout the country. They supplied mayoral chains, civic and Masonic regalia, badges, caskets centerpieces and various other ceremonial items.¹⁵⁷

In later years Fattorini would: represent Manningham at the meeting when the Northern Union was formed; become a director of Bradford City AFC, and the elected president of six cross country athletic associations; vice-president of the Amateur Athletics Association; be appointed time keeper for the King's Cup air race around Britain; timekeeper at four Olympic Games (Paris, London, Stockholm, Amsterdam); and timekeeper when Malcolm Campbell set an unofficial world speed record driving his famous Blue Bird.¹⁵⁸ In 1907 Fattorini's formed a subsidiary company entitled Sports & Pastimes, which manufactured and sold sporting clothing and equipment.¹⁵⁹ Their clients included Bradford City AFC and they wore shirts supplied by Sports & Pastimes when they won the FA Cup in 1911. Remarkably, the 1911 FA Cup competition saw the first use of the current trophy, which was

¹⁵⁷ Beaver, *Pedlar's Legacy*, p.44.

¹⁵⁸ *Telegraph & Argus*, 8 Sept. 1931; *Manchester Guardian*, 9 Sept. 1931; *Sporting Life*, 9 Sept. 1931; *Leeds Mercury*, 9 Sept. 1931; *Sports Echo*, 12 Sept. 1931.

¹⁵⁹ Beaver, *Pedlar's Legacy*, p.49.

designed by Fattorini's. That, alongside the production of the current Rugby League Challenge Cup, is Fattorini's greatest sporting legacy.

The commercial opportunities offered by large attendances at rugby matches, and the growing fame of the players, were also exploited by people who did not have a direct involvement in the game. One such man was John Baines, whose company was founded almost adjacent to Manningham's Carlisle Road ground in 1885. In that year Baines invented and patented football collectors' cards. Over the following century the collecting of football cards became a global obsession. The fact that it had its roots in Victorian Bradford is further evidence of the sophistication and popularity of the town's rugby culture in the 1880s and 1890s.

Baines cards could be interpreted as a physical representation of a celebrity culture. Although Collins noted that 'public fame for sportsmen was not a new phenomenon' he did argue that what was new in rugby was that it was predominantly focused on working-class players.¹⁶⁰ However, working-class sportsmen, whether it was pedestrians, Tyneside rowers, or numerous boxers and cricketers, had already been celebrated as working-class heroes in the years before Baines cards appeared. While the feting of rugby players probably marks a significant increase in the public persona of working-class

¹⁶⁰ Collins, *Great Split*, p.83.

sportsmen, what Baines represents is arguably a large-scale commercial exploitation of working-class celebratory culture.

Packets of six cards were sold for ½ penny which, according to Hird, was often the entire pocket money of a Bradford boy during that era.¹⁶¹ In the company's early days it appears, from surviving cards, that rugby players and their clubs were the staple product. However, the range of cards was expanded to cover cricket and football. It was both a geographical and societal spread. Examples of cards in the collections of Bradford Industrial Museum include clubs from south Wales, Scotland, the English midlands and north. The latter takes up by far the largest proportion of surviving cards. This probably reflects the fact that the north of England was the most advanced area as regards the commercialisation of rugby and that it lay within easy reach of Baines' manufacturing base. The societal expansion of the cards' subjects is arguably the best evidence of rugby's popularity among an increasing proportion of the population. Among Bradford Industrial Museum's collection are exhortations for schools such as Fairweather Green (a board school in west Bradford) to 'play up'. There are depictions of individual schoolboy players, W. Naylor of Hanson Board School (north east

¹⁶¹ Horace Hird, *Bradford Remembrancer, twenty-six essays on people, or incidents in their lives which are worthy of remembrance* (Bradford: McDonald, 1972), p.1.

Bradford); church clubs, Bramley Street Mission (east Leeds); and works teams, Bradford Pin Company.

Jackson claimed that John Baines, and fellow Bradford manufacturer W.N. Sharpe, although part of a wider national industry, dominated the football card market until the 1920s.¹⁶² Bradford's printing industry had undergone a rapid expansion during the nineteenth century. In 1820 the town had four printing works, by 1900 seventy were in operation. It has also been claimed that Bradford was, between the latter part of the nineteenth century and the Great War, the principal centre for the production of Christmas cards.¹⁶³ Jackson has argued that the production of football cards in Bradford was connected to the advanced state of the printing trade in the town and that this was probably the result of commercial and cultural links with Germany. This association would have given early access to continental printing, and in particular lithographical developments. The commercial advantage this gave Bradford facilitated the large-scale production of football cards.¹⁶⁴ However, depictions of footballers were not confined to collectors' cards. In 1891 artist John Sowden exhibited 200 paintings of 'well-known Bradfordians'. Among

¹⁶² Alexander Jackson, *Football's Consumer Culture and Juvenile Fan Culture, c1880-c1960* (PhD. thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University 2011), p.98.

¹⁶³ Graham Hall, 'Classic Cards, Bradford, the history of W.N. Sharpe Ltd.', *The Bradford Antiquary*, third series, number eleven, 2007, p.48.

¹⁶⁴ Jackson, *Football's Consumer Culture*, p.100; Hird, *Bradford Remembrancer*, p.7. Baines sold 13.5m cards in 1920, the business was sold to a Barnsley concern in 1926 just as cigarette cards were beginning to make serious inroads into the collectors' card market.

such notables such as Sir Jacobs Behrens and Alfred Illingworth MP, was Bradford FC's captain Fred Bonsor and his opposite number at Manningham Eddie Holmes.¹⁶⁵

The grip rugby had on the imagination of Bradford's male population was unsurprisingly reflected in the finances of the town's two main rugby clubs. Income at the turnstile was the main factor. Five figure attendances were a regular feature from the mid-1880s. Examples include 16,000 witnessing a North v South representative fixture at Park Avenue in December 1885, 10,000 at Bradford's opening game of the 1886-7 season against Halifax and 13,000 at an 1886 Yorkshire Cup tie between Bradford and Manningham.¹⁶⁶ The rise in popularity, and profitability, is perhaps best illustrated by comparing receipts taken at the gate. After the first season at Park Avenue, 1880-1, Bradford FC's receipts were £520; by the 1885-6 season they had risen to £3,120.¹⁶⁷ By contrast Manningham's receipts for the 1886-7 season were £1,907. However, as the *Bradford Observer* noted the figures quoted were almost certainly some way short of what was actually taken at the gate. 'The trick can be done by

¹⁶⁵ H-BRA-5.7. BRI, catalogue, *John Sowden's Exhibition, two hundred well-known Bradfordians*, British Picture Gallery, Bridge Street, Bradford, 1891, Leeds University Library; Gary Firth, *Street Characters of a Victorian City, John Sowden's Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Art Galleries & Museums, 1993), pp.38-9, pp.54-5.

¹⁶⁶ Item 9722, 'collection of newspaper articles relating to Bradford Football Club from 1885', pp.11-17. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham; Collins, *Great Split*, pp.39-40.

¹⁶⁷ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, pp.29-30.

manipulating the gate money before it becomes a cash book item'.¹⁶⁸ As success attracted higher crowds and improved receipts, the undeclared money was almost certainly used to pay players and thereby attract the best talent. Payment of wages was an open secret, so it was no surprise when the authorities decided to act.

Partly in response to the Football Association's (FA) legalisation of professionalism in 1885, in October 1886 the RFU AGM passed new rules aimed at eliminating creeping professionalism in the oval ball game.¹⁶⁹ Five points debarred payment for: services rendered; compensation for loss of wages; training; transfer fees or promise of employment; monies in excess of hotel or travelling expenses.¹⁷⁰ Bradford's Harry Garnett, described by Richards as a voice of a significant minority in Yorkshire opposed to professionalism, declared 'if working men desired to play football, they should pay for it themselves, as they would have to do for any other pleasure'.¹⁷¹ The measures were aimed squarely at working class players. However, for middle class players the rules were less rigorous and they were able to receive generous 'gifts' without censure. Less than a week prior to the adoption of the new rules Bradford's captain, and England international half-

¹⁶⁸ *Bradford Observer*, 21 May 1887.

¹⁶⁹ Collins, *Great Split*, p.57.

¹⁷⁰ *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 6 Oct. 1886.

¹⁷¹ Richards, *Game for Hooligans*, p.62.

back, Fred Bonsor, had been presented with a gold watch worth twenty guineas and a purse containing £80. The gifts were described as a testimonial and wedding present.¹⁷² The largesse shown towards Bonsor could have hardly avoided the gaze of the RFU as it was presented following a match against Liverpool, which 9,000 people attended and was refereed by the Rev. Frank Marshall, president of the YRU and a man who has been described by Richards as the 'scourge of professionalism'.¹⁷³ A few months earlier Bradford's committee had given their England forward Laurie Hickson a wedding present comprising of 'a clock and ornaments'.¹⁷⁴

The 1886 Yorkshire Cup brought with it allegations that Manningham was attracting playing talent from around the region by offering payments 'over and above expenses'.¹⁷⁵ Within the YRU there were growing concerns about payments to players, and there were calls for the matter to be addressed head on. In what many believed was pre-planned action, Manningham became the first club to be charged with 'professionalism'. Pudsey lodged an appeal following their first round defeat alleging that Manningham had paid Jack Birmingham and William Pulleyn. Both were natives of Selby and a witness

¹⁷² Item 9722, 'collection of newspaper articles relating to Bradford Football Club from 1885', p.18. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham.

¹⁷³ Richards, *Game for Hooligans*, p.21.

¹⁷⁴ Item 9722, 'collection of newspaper articles relating to Bradford Football Club from 1885', p.8. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham.

¹⁷⁵ Collins, *Great Split*, p.57.

said they had 'received broken-time payments, rail-fare and a sovereign'. Manningham's captain Billy Fawcett admitted that the club had promised to find Pulleyn a job in Bradford, but denied the other charges. Pulleyn had been a joinery apprentice and his former employer alleged that he had held up a postal order and said 'who will work here when he gets paid for football?' He had been frequently absent and had boasted to work mates that the postal orders had been sent by Manningham.¹⁷⁶ Birmingham had been invited to play for Manningham when he 'accidentally' met Billy Fawcett in Selby. Quite what the Manningham captain was doing wandering the streets of Selby fully thirty miles from Bradford was not explained. In the event the YRU committee rejected Pudsey's appeal on the grounds that the evidence failed to prove that anything more than the 'third class rail fare' had been paid to the players.¹⁷⁷

vi Crowds and Congestion, the price of popularity

The gate money being generated by the rugby clubs, and the commercial opportunities described in the previous section, were reflective of the increasing crowds attending rugby matches in Yorkshire. Accommodating those crowds in fairly rudimentary grounds was both a logistical challenge

¹⁷⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 2 Mar. 1886.

¹⁷⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 3 Mar. 1886; Collins, *Great Split*, p.57.

and a financial opportunity. As was previously described, during the 1860s and early 1870s only small numbers of spectators attended matches as the clubs were mainly recreational organisations. However, reports of significant numbers of spectators watching games become common from the mid-1870s and this growth became exponential after the introduction of the Yorkshire Cup in 1877.

Of course, once it was obvious that spectators were willing to pay to watch a match ensuring that others were prevented from watching without payment was the starting point of enclosed grounds.¹⁷⁸ At Salford and Wakefield large canvas screens were erected around the perimeter of the grounds.¹⁷⁹ In time high wooden fences replaced the screens and the grounds became enclosed facilities into which spectators could be charged gate money. Initially, as Inglis wrote, developing a ground was 'basically a question of filling the space left available once the pitch had been marked out'.¹⁸⁰ Manningham's Carlisle Road ground, developed from 1880, remained little more than a pitch surrounded by a fence and wooden battens, constructed by the players, designed to keep spectators' feet off the muddy ground. The rudimentary nature of the facilities is illustrated by the fact that Manningham's 1882

¹⁷⁸ Mason, *Association Football*, p.139.

¹⁷⁹ Delaney, *Grounds of Rugby*, p.26.

¹⁸⁰ Simon Inglis, *The Football Grounds of England and Wales* (Willow Books, 1983), p.20.

Yorkshire Cup tie, against Gildersome & Morley, was switched to Bradford's Park Avenue ground in order to accommodate the large crowd anticipated for the cup-tie.¹⁸¹ Prior to the adoption of turnstiles the collection of money from spectators was reported as being the responsibility of club officials walking around the ground with wooden collection boxes.¹⁸² As crowds grew into the thousands the problem of giving the spectators a view of the pitch had to be solved. Apart from small, usually uncovered, 'grandstands' comprising of wooden benches, the vast majority of spectators were 'packed onto badly constructed slopes with hardly a wooden barrier in sight'.¹⁸³ Early terraces were sloping banks constructed from ash, cinders and even rubbish. Although Inglis stated that the terrace evolved because they were 'cheap to build and could pack in as many punters as possible, with minimal extra facilities', the terraces were also a practical response to the problem of accommodating unprecedented numbers of people gathering to watch regularised sporting events.¹⁸⁴ As there were few parallels to draw on, and little or no official regulation, the spectator boom was almost bound to lead to incidents large and small.

¹⁸¹ *Bradford Observer*, 6 Mar. 1882; Pendleton, *Paraders*, p.4.

¹⁸² Delany, *Grounds of Rugby*, p.26.

¹⁸³ Inglis, *Football Grounds of England*, pp.20-9; Delaney, *Grounds of Rugby*, pp.27-8, p.62; Pendleton, *Paraders*, pp.5-11; Mason, *Association Football*, pp.139-40.

¹⁸⁴ Inglis, *Football Grounds of England*, p.9; Delaney, *Grounds of Rugby*, p.28.

Arguably, Manningham FC was one of the most vulnerable clubs given that they had been forced to construct the 18,000 capacity Valley Parade ground over the course of a single summer.¹⁸⁵ The move tripled the club's membership and saw 'more money [taken] at the gates than ever before'. The club president admitted that there was concern that 'the field had not proved altogether a success, but that could scarcely be expected'.¹⁸⁶ The YRU were keen to support the new ground and several high profile games were staged, including in 1888 a Yorkshire Cup semi-final tie between Halifax and Huddersfield and a representative game between Yorkshire and the Maoris.¹⁸⁷ Despite Valley Parade's use as a top class venue, its shortcomings were exposed on Christmas Day, 1888. A fatal accident occurred on the Midland Road side during a local derby with Heckmondwike. There was only one central entrance into the Midland Road side of the ground and, with a 16,000 crowd in the ground, there was congestion around the halfway line. A number of boys had been passed over the heads of the spectators to be placed in front of the pitch-side barrier. Seven minutes into the game there was a surge forward as people strained to watch the action and the barrier collapsed, trapping the boys beneath it. The referee halted the game as players and spectators rushed to extract four boys from the melee. Twelve year-old

¹⁸⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 25 Sept.1886; Pendleton, *Paraders*, pp.6-9.

¹⁸⁶ *Bradford Observer*, 4 May 1887.

¹⁸⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 2 Apr. 1888, 13 Dec. 1888.

Thomas Coyle was pronounced dead as a result of a broken neck. Three other boys suffered injuries the worst of which was a broken right thigh. The game was abandoned once word of the fatality spread. The officials of the two clubs agreed that the gate receipts of £115 should be donated to the dead boy's relatives.¹⁸⁸

Three days later, on 28 December 1888, an inquest was held at Bradford Town Hall where evidence was given in front of a jury.¹⁸⁹ William Jackson had helped move several boys from in front of the fencing before the game kicked off. He was in charge of the spare ball and had just returned the ball to the players when he heard the fence give way behind him. He heard some screaming and managed to get the crowd to move back. The fallen railings were lifted clear and the boys extracted. Thomas Coyle was sitting in a doubled up position, but appeared to be dead. Jackson said he had seen the railings put up when the ground was constructed two years previously. They were made from new wood and went into the ground to a depth of around two feet. Another witness, James Riley, a boot maker, of Manningham, said he had seen several lads come from the boys' enclosure into the 'three penny place' (Midland Road). Though club officials sent most back to the boys' enclosure, those who had escaped into the crowd were eventually passed to

¹⁸⁸ *Bradford Observer*, 26 Dec. 1888, 27 Dec. 1888; Pendleton, *Paraders*, pp.11-14.

¹⁸⁹ *Bradford Observer*, 28 Dec. 1888.

the front. Riley saw two lads sitting on the bottom railing of the fence. He said the crowd became packed in the middle part of the banking because it gave the best view. He saw a ten-yard section of fencing collapse and then the portion directly in front of him gave way. It fell onto the lads and he found himself in a heap of bodies. Representing Manningham FC, James Freeman said that the club had provided a boys' enclosure in order to prevent them sitting in front of the railings. A twenty-yard section of fencing adjoining the fatal portion had fallen the previous season, albeit without injury. During the hearing Bradford's Chief Constable entered the court and said it was possible that the two year-old ground, which had extensive ash bankings, had yet to properly settle.

The borough surveyor reported that a twenty-yard portion had collapsed exactly opposite the Midland Road entrance. The wood of the posts was in remarkably good order. They formed a very strong barrier, though not quite as robust as similar ones at Bradford FC's Park Avenue ground. He remarked that the forces that caused it to collapse must have been 'considerable'. He thought that an additional parallel barrier, as had been installed at Park Avenue, should be erected. He said he had been very much surprised to hear of the accident as he thought the ground was very well guarded. The jury recommended that the central entrance be closed and two opened at either end of the Midland Road enclosure. Parallel barriers (similar to contemporary

crush barriers) were also recommended. Manningham FC promised to act on both counts. A verdict of 'accidental death' was returned. Thomas Coyle was buried at Undercliffe Cemetery; Manningham FC paid the funeral expenses.¹⁹⁰

The crush that resulted in the fatality at Valley Parade appears to have been far from unique. A perimeter fence collapse at Park Avenue, Bradford in 1898 resulted hundreds of people falling onto the pitch, fortunately without serious injury.¹⁹¹ Delaney listed similar incidents during rugby matches at: Park Avenue, Bradford 1899 and 1904; Mount Pleasant, Batley 1902; Parkside, Hunslet 1903; Lawkholme Lane, Keighley 1905.¹⁹² In 1996 Inglis estimated that there had been 282 deaths and at least 4,000 injuries reported in thirty-five serious incidents at twenty-nine separate British sports grounds since the first recorded fatality of Thomas Coyle at Valley Parade in 1888.¹⁹³

What is notable is that even in the earliest years of large capacity grounds clubs did appear to accept some proportion of blame for death and injury. Manningham gave Thomas Coyle's parents the £115 gate receipts and paid for

¹⁹⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 28 Dec. 1888.

¹⁹¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 12 Feb. 1898.

¹⁹² Delaney, *Grounds of Rugby*, p.9.

¹⁹³ Inglis, *Football Grounds of England*, pp.9-10. Inglis cited numerous serious crushes at: Charlton (1923), Manchester City (1926), Huddersfield (1932 and 1937), Watford (1937), Liverpool (1966), Leeds (1967), Dunfermline (1968), Stoke (1971) and Arsenal (1972).

his funeral. In 1896 Blackburn Rovers paid £25 compensation to a spectator who was injured during the partial collapse of a stand.¹⁹⁴ Of course, given the sheer number of instances of crushes and accidents that were to occur in Britain's sports grounds, clearly accepting some element of responsibility did not lead to remedial action to prevent future occurrences. Indeed, even among those who directly experienced the crushes and surges there does not appear to have been a popular clamour to eradicate terraces. However, while there appears to have a widespread acceptance of the terraces, there were complaints about congestion which did occasionally lead to action, as happened at Bradford City AFC's Valley Parade when an additional exit was constructed to ease the flow of spectators ahead of the first division match against Aston Villa in 1908.¹⁹⁵

The extensive press coverage of Thomas Coyle's death and subsequent inquiry is probably reflective of both the importance of sport to newspaper sales and a growing reporting of deaths and accidents that will be familiar to any reader of the Victorian press.¹⁹⁶ Although writing about the workplace, Bronstein's comment that from the 1880s 'accidents were ideologically reconstituted, from individual human tragedies into a social problem that

¹⁹⁴ Inglis, *Football Grounds*, p.29.

¹⁹⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 10 Oct. 1908, 12 Oct. 1908; Pendleton, *Paraders*, p.42.

¹⁹⁶ Mason, 'Sporting News', pp.168-86.

could only be solved by government intervention', could be partly transferred to the death of Thomas Coyle at Valley Parade.¹⁹⁷ Although accidents were, and continue to be, viewed as part of the flow of everyday life, there appears to have been a growing consensus that they were in varying degrees preventable. However, as Cooter and Luckin note, labelling fatalities as 'accidents' deflected blame away from those ultimately responsible.¹⁹⁸

What is notable about the death of Thomas Coyle at Valley Parade in 1888 is that the underlying causes, such as the congestion near the central entrance and the surge of spectators during an exciting incident in the match, are familiar to modern football spectators. Of course, in the modern era the capacity of grounds is known and measured, whereas in the Victorian and Edwardian eras ground capacities and attendances were estimates.¹⁹⁹ Club officials probably learned how to manage crowds by trial and error. As crowds continued to grow the facilities offered by clubs lagged behind, and struggled to keep up with, the demand. The death of Thomas Coyle at Valley Parade proved to be only the first of many in over a century, but as Mason

¹⁹⁷ Jamie Bronstein, *Caught in the Machinery: Workplace Accidents and Injured Workers in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p.170.

¹⁹⁸ Roger Cooter and Bill Luckin, eds., *Accidents in History, injuries, fatalities and social relations* (Amsterdam/ Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1997), pp.3-5.

¹⁹⁹ Mason, *Association Football*, p.164.

wrote 'the surprise is not that there were crowd invasions and occasional accidents, but that there were not many more of both'.²⁰⁰

vii Barbarians Abroad in Bradford

The large crowds passing through the turnstiles of the Yorkshire rugby clubs gave those organisations an economic advantage and commercial imperative to attract the best playing talent. However, it was not simply a zero-sum game, the highly competitive rugby being played in the white rose county produced skilled players and tacticians.²⁰¹ Thus it was perhaps no surprise when the prophecy came to pass: thirteen years after the Yorkshire Cup was founded with the stated aim that 'Yorkshire shall be able to play the rest of England and beat it', the national side was defeated in 1890 by a Yorkshire XV at Park Avenue.²⁰² The *Bradford Daily Telegraph* proclaimed:

Yorkshire reached the crowning height of its ambition on Saturday when its football representatives proved their claim to rank a notch above those of the rest of England.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Mason, *Association Football*, p.164.

²⁰¹ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.92-7; Collins, *English Rugby Union*, pp.137-8; Richards, *Game for Hooligans*, pp.75-6.

²⁰² Marshall, *Football*, pp.361-4.

²⁰³ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 25 Feb. 1890.

The victory was an illustration of the power and economic might of Yorkshire rugby. The players received specially struck medals. *The Yorkshireman* hailed the victory but warned that 'the feat will never be repeated, because the fixture is sure to be knocked on the head next season'.²⁰⁴ It was an intriguing statement that unfortunately was not explained. In the short term Yorkshire's triumph was rewarded with seven white rose players being selected to represent England against Scotland at Edinburgh the following Saturday: J. Dyson (Huddersfield), Fred Bonsor (Bradford), Laurie Hickson (Bradford), Jack Toothill (Bradford), Eddie Holmes (Manningham), Donald Jowett (Heckmondwike), Harry Bedford (Morley).²⁰⁵ In the event Bonsor did not play, but the other six Yorkshiremen helped England to victory, thereby justifying their inclusion in the national XV.²⁰⁶ Despite the tensions in the game, the shared national triumph was an opportunity to heal the rift between north and south. As the president of the English Rugby Union was Bradford's Harry Garnett, 1890 had the potential to be a defining year.

The year would indeed be a historic one for the game, but the underlying theme was exclusivity not inclusivity. The previous decade had seen rugby

²⁰⁴ Item 9722, 'collection of newspaper articles relating to Bradford Football Club from 1885', p.118. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham.

²⁰⁵ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 24 February 1890.

²⁰⁶ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 3 March 1890.

evolve from being a middle class social recreation into a game increasingly dominated by working class participation and spectators.²⁰⁷ Of course, as Lowerson noted, the commercialisation of rugby 'could not have occurred without substantial entrepreneurial involvement'.²⁰⁸ It is important to remember the central role played by middle class entrepreneurs who facilitated the influx of working class players and spectators into the game. The tensions that beset rugby in the 1890s has often been framed as a clash between the classes, but in many respects this was an intra-class conflict and at its heart was the 'replacement of an ethical elite by a business one'.²⁰⁹ The entrepreneurs, usually from a capitalist industrial background, in the main, shared the culture of the working class that, as Collins wrote, viewed sport 'as a form of entertainment rather than a moral force'.²¹⁰ Indeed, Vamplew viewed the emergence of professionalism in sport as 'very much a product of the wave of commercialism which engulfed the leisure sector in the late nineteenth century'.²¹¹

Jenkyns wrote 'in the *Iliad* the main function of the ordinary folk was to be killed by their superiors: it is unthinkable for a hero to be slain except by

²⁰⁷ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.32.

²⁰⁸ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p.182.

²⁰⁹ Lowerson, *English Middle Class*, p.184.

²¹⁰ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.32.

²¹¹ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.183.

another hero'.²¹² To the classically educated gentlemen of England defeat by a Yorkshire team, consisting of mainly working class players, could be viewed as an affront to the natural order. Less than eight weeks after Yorkshire's vanquishing of England the Southern Nomads played in Bradford. The touring team was selected largely from the Blackheath club. In the late evening of 7 April 1890 William Carpmael was enjoying an oyster supper at Leuchters's Restaurant, on Darley Street in central Bradford. In the company of, among others Lieutenant-Colonel Laurie Hickson MC JP, the father of Bradford FC's England international Laurie Hickson, he conceived the idea of a selected touring team, with no members and no home ground; they would be known as the Barbarians. Carpmael retired to the Alexandra Hotel to discuss the idea with the Southern Nomads and the Barbarians was officially formed at 2am in the morning.²¹³

The team was modelled 'along the lines of the famous Corinthians, whose membership is restricted to university and public school men'.²¹⁴ The Corinthians founded in 1882, described by Taylor as 'a kind of amateur super club', who declined to enter cup competitions and treated penalty kicks as an affront to their gentlemanly sporting values, appear to have been the perfect

²¹² Richard Jenkins, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), p.211.

²¹³ Nigel Starmer-Smith, *The Barbarians, the official history of the Barbarian Football Club* (Macdonald/Futura, 1977), pp.19-20.

²¹⁴ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 Dec. 1890.

role model for the Barbarians.²¹⁵ A team selected by invitation and who chose their opponents was, as Collins wrote, 'a perfect antidote to the rising tide of working class participation in 1890s rugby'.²¹⁶ Although the club was reputedly open to gentlemen of all classes, a mere handful of northern players were invited to join the Barbarians on tour: Laurie Hickson (Bradford), Percy Robertshaw (Bradford), F.H.R. Alderson (Durham) and T. Whittaker (Manchester) being notable examples.²¹⁷ The under-representation of northern players in the ranks of the Barbarians probably reflected the selection policy of the club, but a factor that should not be totally discounted is that the majority of northern players were simply unavailable due to their host clubs' busy fixture schedules. The Barbarians were not inaccessible to northern spectators as they regularly played Bradford, Huddersfield, Hartlepool and Swinton between 1890 and 1892. Their popularity was varied, with nearly 14,000 witnessing a fixture at Bradford, barely 4,000 at Huddersfield, albeit in poor weather, and 'a rather meagre crowd' at Swinton.²¹⁸ However, from 1893 the Barbarians abandoned the vast majority of their northern fixtures in favour of matches in the south west and south Wales. In the case of Bradford the Barbarians did not return until 1965, when they met Bradford RUFC at

²¹⁵ Taylor, *Association Game*, pp.83-4; Mason, *Association Football*, pp.216-17.

²¹⁶ Tony Collins, *A Social History of English Rugby Union* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p.124.

²¹⁷ *Western Mail*, 28 Mar. 1891; *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 29 Dec. 1891. Hickson was certainly not a working class player, his father's title was alluded to earlier and Hickson resided at Gawthorpe Hall, Bingley, a Tudor manor house.

²¹⁸ *The Standard*, 29 Dec. 1891; *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 30 Dec. 1891; *The Morning Post*, 31 Dec. 1891.

Lidget Green as part of their seventy-fifth season tour.²¹⁹ As Vamplew put it, 'the gentlemen retreated before the players'.²²⁰

Conclusion

Despite the sketchy nature of reports of informal football in Bradford, it can be assumed that the game was understood in light of the fact that newspaper reports referring to incidents around the game of football did not furnish their readers with an explanation as to what 'football' was. While acknowledging the warnings from Hay *et al* regarding 'under reporting' of informal games, the evidence in Bradford is not strong enough to support a theory that a 'football culture' existed prior to the 1870s.²²¹ Similarly, the 1858 match at Spinkwell, with its hints of formality in the number of players and regular match times and days, only partially supports the contention of Hay *et al* that football was becoming 'comparatively sophisticated and rule bounded'.²²² Quite what form the 'football' being played is impossible to discern. The fact that Bradford was to become a rugby stronghold by the 1870s cannot be used to suggest that a version of rugby was being played at Spinkwell in 1858. However, it might be reasonable to expect that, as Kitching contended,

²¹⁹ Starmer-Smith, *The Barbarians*, p.31.

²²⁰ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.283.

²²¹ Hay, Harvey & Smith, 'Football Before Codification', p.4.

²²² Hay, Harvey & Smith, 'Football Before Codification', pp.1-2.

elements of the game being played in 1858 Bradford would have appeared in the rules of both the Eton and Rugby rules and thus the two football codes.²²³

The establishment of codified rugby in Bradford is linked to public schooling, and was probably aided and abetted by a residual survival of some form of 'football' among the working classes. Although the old boys of Bramham College and Steeton Hall represent the locally educated middle class, the unseen hand of a national influence on the masters is, in this case, the unknowable.²²⁴ To further complicate matters it could be convincingly argued that it could have been the boys themselves who introduced rugby, or a version of it, to their schools. The adoption of rugby as the winter sport of choice by Bradford FC was probably the result of a critical mass of clubs playing the game within a reasonable travelling distance. Of course, the Bradford club could have already been playing a version of the game that was close enough to the rugby school rules to facilitate a simple conversion.

Whether it was as Williams illustrated at Sheffield; Keevans and McCarra in Scotland; Taylor in Wales; or Russell in Lancashire, the impact of cup competitions as the precursor of significant and lasting change is an almost

²²³ Kitching, 'Old Football and New Codes', p.1735.

²²⁴ Collins, 'Early Football', p.8.

constant across both football codes.²²⁵ The rise in populism, commercialism and professionalism in the wake of the launch of rugby's Yorkshire Cup is consistent with developments elsewhere in the country. What is clear is that the introduction of the Yorkshire Cup was a seminal moment. Once Bradford had made the decision to attempt to compete effectively in the Yorkshire Cup, and accept the mantle as Bradford's civic representatives on the rugby field, the move from an elitist organisation to one that would begin to encompass the wider community rapidly followed. By introducing meaningful games against rival communities, the cup tapped into a growing sense of a civic identity as Bradford itself began evolve into a coherent entity following decades of rapid change and expansion. In little more than a decade Bradford Football Club enjoyed a six-fold increase in profits, moved to, and constructed, an extensive shared ground with Bradford Cricket Club and became an incorporated company in order to fund a further expansion of the Park Avenue grounds to accommodate growing attendances. It was a remarkable transformation and Bradford had moved from being a club for playing members into 'a capitalist enterprise'.

As well as enticing new spectators to the sport, the Yorkshire Cup also inspired the formation of a wave of new clubs and facilitated the

²²⁵ Williams, *The Code War*, p.32; Keevans & McCarra, *100 Cups*, p.11; Taylor, *Association Game*, pp.41-4; Russell, *Football and the English*, pp.19-20.

development of existing clubs to a new level. One such club was Manningham FC whose development was reflective of changes in society. Firstly, the club was formed in the late 1870s, an era when Manningham itself, formally an exclusive middle class suburb, was rapidly industrialising and becoming a densely populated district of Bradford as opposed to a separate, in terms of both geography and class, community. It could be contended that the formation of a rugby club was part of the communal jigsaw and stood alongside the opening of a park, church, railway station, parade of shops or place of mass employment in the evolution of a mid-Victorian community such as Manningham. Secondly, the cup introduced real competition into Yorkshire rugby and as such began to reflect the realities of everyday industrial capitalist society into the sport. As will be charted in the following chapters, Manningham FC would grow to such an extent that it would become a serious challenger to both the status and income of Bradford FC.

While the large crowds and prowess on the field of play are one measure of the popularity and vibrancy of Yorkshire rugby during the late 1880s and early 1890s, another might be the commercial exploitation of the game's popularity. The establishment of ancillary sporting goods manufacturers and retailers can be used to demonstrate both the sophistication of Bradford's rugby culture and the growing hold that rugby had on the predominantly working-class players and spectators of the town. The employees, the men

and women who printed the cards, stitched the footballs and embellished the trophies, at Baines Cards, the British Sports Depot and Fattorini's are further additions to Collins's 'armies of ... sporting goods manufacturers and retailers'.²²⁶ They broaden the understanding of the history of sports goods, which, as Porter lamented, relatively little is known.²²⁷ The employees of the British Sports Depot and Baines cards also are a valuable addition to, what Vamplew described as, the 'uncounted' numbers of workers employed in the wider sports industry.²²⁸ Another element added by the Bradford trio is elements of internationalism. Given that Bradford's textile industry operated on a global scale that might not be surprising. However, it does illustrate the expansion of sporting goods, in the wake of the sports themselves, into local, national and international markets.

One of those products, Baines cards, featured a large number of players from northern rugby clubs. Although that might be explained by the fact that most of those clubs were within an easy reach of Baines manufacturing base, the popularity of the cards could illustrate both the making of, and exploitation of, a celebrity culture based on predominantly working-class players and consumed by, presumably, predominantly working-class boys. Collins saw

²²⁶ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.49.

²²⁷ Porter, 'Entrepreneurship', p.205.

²²⁸ Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp.54-5.

this as a new and significant moment in the commercialisation of rugby. Against such a backdrop, and regular five figure crowds at Yorkshire Cup matches, the Rugby Football Union's 1886 legislation aimed at eliminating elements of professionalism can be viewed as the first attempts to, initially, stem Collins's 'rising tide' of working class players and spectators into the sport and later, in the case of the Barbarians, segregate the sport along class lines.²²⁹

²²⁹ Collins, *Social History of English Rugby*, p.124.

Chapter Four

A Transformation of Sport: the coming of the leagues 1892-1903

In the previous chapter the introduction of the Yorkshire Cup was shown to have sown the seeds that led to rugby becoming a popular spectator sport and one that began to embrace elements of commercialisation. This chapter will consider whether league systems transformed sport during, in particular, the 1890s and will look for parallels with the work of Collins, Russell, Taylor and Williams.¹ It will be argued that the development of leagues crossed sporting boundaries. It will be suggested that the formation, and success, of the Football League in 1888 inspired a whole host of similar ventures. Parallel developments of leagues in Scottish football and club cricket are used as useful comparisons to the formation in 1893 of a rugby league in Yorkshire entitled the Yorkshire Senior Competition (YSC). In rugby leagues were formed in order to regularise income streams required, in part, to repay large capital investments made in grounds built to accommodate increasing crowds. The introduction of a league gave the rugby season a structure and rhythm that remains in place to this day. A watershed was crossed in terms of the modernisation of sport in Bradford. If the Yorkshire Cup could be described as the physical embodiment of the abandonment of amateurism,

¹ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.51; Russell, *Football and the English*, pp.31-2; Taylor, *Association Game*, pp.65-6; Matthew Taylor, *The Leaguers, the making of professional football in England, 1900-1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), p.4; Williams, *Code War*, pp. 102-3.

the YSC might equally be described as the embrace of professionalism. The global reach of Yorkshire rugby, in the shape of a Manningham player from New Zealand and the club's tour of Paris, is utilised as further evidence of the sophistication of the culture of Yorkshire rugby.

The tensions already evident within English rugby were exacerbated by a league structure that was largely controlled by the clubs themselves. Demands for compensation for players absent from work would eventually prove to be issue that would lead to the formation of the Northern Union. As the RFU tightened rules on professionalism evidence will be presented of players being employed as publicans, which will be argued is a parallel developments identified by Mason in Lancashire and Crampsey in Scotland.² Collins claimed that many Yorkshire rugby clubs ran parallel association football sections in the early 1890s as an 'insurance policy'.³ An alternative theory will be presented that the clubs were possibly considering professional football clubs as a way of subsidising the continuation of amateur rugby. This will be argued to be particularly applicable to Yorkshire's big three clubs of Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds who were reluctant to join the break away from the RFU and who may have been examining all possible scenarios before joining the Northern Union. It will be asked why the RFU essentially blocked

² Mason, *Association Football*, pp.118-19; Bob Crampsey, *The First 100 Years, the Scottish Football League* (Glasgow: Scottish Football League, 1990), p.17.

³ Collins, *Great Split*, p.182.

a compromise deal that had the potential to undermine the infant Northern Union at birth. It will be argued that part of the reason for the lack of compromise was the rise of working class self-determination throughout the 1890s which meant that a football style compromise proved to be impossible in rugby.

The cultural importance of rugby to the people of Bradford will be considered through the prism of events surrounding the death of Manningham player George Lorimer in 1897. Questions will be asked as to how Lorimer's funeral reflected the popularity of rugby in Bradford, the shaping of communal identities and the self-image of the Northern Union two years after its formation. The interment of Lorimer will be viewed alongside those of other Victorian sportsmen and will build on the pioneering work of Huggins.⁴

The chapter will contend that rugby's great split resulted in a popular rejection of not only Rugby Union, but rugby as a whole in Bradford and that the result was a football boom that laid the foundations for professional football in the town. Thus 1895 will be presented as, not only a decisive year for rugby, but also a pivotal moment in the development of football in Bradford. Although Arnold ascribed the formation of the Northern Rugby

⁴ Mike Huggins, 'Gone but not forgotten: sporting heroes, heritage and graveyard commemoration', *Rethinking History*, Vol. 16, 4, 2012, pp.1-17; Mike Huggins, 'Death, memorialisation and the Victorian sporting hero', *Local Historian*, 38, 4, (Nov. 2008), pp.257-65.

League in 1901, a breakaway of the top gate-taking clubs of the Northern Union, as the 'decisive moment' in weakening Manningham FC's ties to the Northern Union and thus laying the path towards the formation of a professional football club in Bradford, it will be argued that the underlying factors were already in place to entice Manningham into the round ball game.⁵

i Working Class Self-Determination on and off the Field of Play

In local and national politics the 1890s saw liberalism's popular support being undermined by rising trade union membership, which in Bradford rose from 3,500 in 1883 to 13,000 by 1892.⁶ The Manningham Mills strike, a bitter dispute that ran between December 1890 and April 1891 after wages at the enormous Lister & Company's mill were reduced, proved to be a watershed moment. The strike turned into a free speech issue after the local authorities attempted to prevent mass rallies in the town centre. It culminated in a riot that was put down by the Durham Light Infantry on the night of 23 April 1891.⁷ The strike collapsed soon after, but Laybourn claimed that 'the strike destroyed the

⁵ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.23.

⁶ Jack Reynolds and Keith Laybourn, 'The Emergence of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford', *International Review of Social History* (1975), Vol.20, issue 3, p.321.

⁷ Cyril Pearce, *The Manningham Mills Strike, Bradford, December 1890-April 1891* (Hull: University of Hull, 1975), pp.43-9.

deferential attitude of the working class to politics'.⁸ That statement is supported by Charlie Glyde's proclamation 'we have had two parties in the past, the can'ts and the won'ts and it's time we had a party that will'.⁹ The result was the formation of the Independent Labour Party (ILP). Initially, many working-class voters remained loyal to the Liberals. During the 1892 general election the ILP candidate for Bradford West, Ben Tillett, came third behind the Liberal mill owner Alfred Illingworth.¹⁰ In local elections however, Manningham consistently returned ILP councillors from 1891 onwards.

The ILP was not just a political party, it became a 'ethical, cultural and social movement replacing to some extent the role of the church in the life of many families'.¹¹ Although, there was a Labour Cricket League whose winners received the Fattorini Shield, the ILP appear to have aloof from popular sporting culture.¹² This probably reflects the general unease of the socialist movement towards sport. As Susan Barton argued some socialists 'saw entrepreneurs' manipulation of workers' leisure activities for profit as a threat

⁸ Keith Laybourn, 'The Manningham Mills Strike: its importance in Bradford history', *The Bradford Antiquary*, new series, part XLVI, Oct. 1976, p.35.

⁹ Malcolm Pearce and Geoffrey Stewart, *British Political History, 1867-2001, democracy and decline* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992), p.246.

¹⁰ Reynolds and Laybourn, *Independent Labour Party*, p.334.

¹¹ James, *Bradford*, p.77.

¹² *Bradford Daily Argus*, 3 July 1893.

to developing an independent class-consciousness'.¹³ Despite the possible disconnect from Bradford's sporting culture, by 1906 only a Liberal-Conservative pact prevented the ILP holding the balance of power on the city council. In the same year Bradford finally elected a Labour MP.¹⁴ However, the Liberals remained popular with the city's Irish community, roughly a ninth of the electorate, due to the party's support for Irish Home Rule.¹⁵

The trade recovery, referred to at the beginning of the previous chapter, was hit by another trade barrier when in 1891 the so-called McKinley tariff halved trade with America. Although the easing of American tariffs in the mid-century led to a short-lived upsurge in production, it was rapidly reversed by the introduction of the Dingley tariff in 1898. It reduced trade to its lowest level since the early part of the century.¹⁶ The tariffs saw manufacturers looking to, what James described as, 'the hitherto neglected markets of the British Empire'.¹⁷ By 1897 exports to the empire made up 30% of Bradford's output: Australia 13.1%; Canada 8.6%; South Africa 4.2%; India 4.1%.¹⁸

¹³ Susan Barton, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p.11; Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Leisure*, pp.46-7; Waters, *British Socialists*, pp.29-38.

¹⁴ James, *Bradford*, p.78.

¹⁵ Reynolds & Laybourn, *Independent Labour Party*, p.319.

¹⁶ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.4.

¹⁷ James, *Bradford*, p.50.

¹⁸ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), p. 192. Joseph Chamberlain even suggested a free-trade empire with a common tariff against foreign countries.

Despite the opening of new markets the foreign tariffs pushed Bradford down the production cycle. Countries developed their manufacturing bases and placed the highest tariffs on piece goods. To aid their own textile industries, countries placed low import duties on goods that could be exploited by their manufacturers. As a result exports of tops (combed wool prepared for spinning) and noils (short pieces produced during combing) rose by 40% between 1890 and 1901. In contrast piece goods increased by 4%.¹⁹ The numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers employed in Bradford's mills rose accordingly. The overseas competition heralded a reduction in profits and a downward pressure on wages as manufacturers sought to reduce overheads. The numbers of women and half-time workers grew. Piece rates and increased machinery speeds became common.²⁰ Despite this Hardman claimed, but provided no evidence to support it, that by 1900 the city was the second financial centre of the UK.²¹ The eventual easing of tariffs saw £4m worth of goods exported to America in 1909. The following year the city exported £42m of goods to overseas markets.²²

Throughout the peaks and troughs of the textile trade, Bradford's population continued to expand. Although it never matched that of the years from 1801

¹⁹ James, *Bradford*, p.51.

²⁰ James, *Bradford*, p.52.

²¹ Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford*, p.40.

²² Law, *Story of Bradford*, pp.250-1.

to 1851, it nevertheless continued to grow by 86.5% between 1851 and 1881 and 48.4% between 1881 and 1911. Figures produced by Lees and Hollen Lees illustrate that Bradford's percentage growth in the 110 years between 1801 and 1911 was the second highest of forty-eight of the largest cities in Europe.²³ Notably where British cities dominate the growth figures in the period 1801 to 1851, it is their German industrial counterparts that have the greatest population expansion between 1851 and 1911. Budapest is the sole non-British or German city in the top ten.

Table 1.4

Percentage Population Growth of European Cities 1801 to 1911

	1801	1911	Increase
Essen	4,000	295,000	7,275%
Bradford	8,000	288,000	3,500%
Dusseldorf	10,000	359,000	3,490%
Leipzig	30,000	590,000	1,867%
Hanover	18,000	302,000	1,578%
Budapest	54,000	880,000	1,530%
Stuttgart	18,000	286,000	1,489%
Sheffield	31,000	465,000	1,400%
Munich	40,000	596,000	1,390%

²³ Lees & Hollen Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe*, pp.287-8. Percentages have been rounded up using a .5% increase and vice versa. Lees & Hollen Lees' population figure for Bradford has been adjusted as they incorrectly show it as 13,000 in 1801 when in fact it was 8,000.

Glasgow	77,000	1,000,000	1,199%
---------	--------	-----------	--------

ii The Yorkshire Senior Competition, rugby's first league

It could be argued that Bradford's growing population had widened and deepened the market for commercialised spectator sport. That was partly reflected by the popularity of the Yorkshire Cup. Its success was such that by the 1890s it had begun to overshadow the ordinary matches, which were in danger of being viewed as little more than glorified practice matches. Once the clubs had decided to accept the financial risks of constructing large capacity grounds for cup-ties and attempt to attract, and probably recompense, the best playing talent, they had locked themselves into a cycle of financial uncertainty that could be ruinous in the event of an early exit from the cup.²⁴ Clearly, the clubs required something more than a fixture list of friendly, or 'ordinary games' as the press described them, whose attractiveness was declining in the face of the raw excitement of the cup-ties. The ordinary games had to have some meaning in order to reinvigorate them in the minds of the gate-paying public.

²⁴ Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.51.

Football had faced a similar quandary in the wake of the adoption of open professionalism five years earlier.²⁵ Aston Villa's William McGregor's solution was the Football League, established in 1888 with a fixed schedule of home and away matches. Whether the inspiration came from American baseball, county cricket, the Scarborough Wednesday Football League (1881) or the Glossop and District Amateur League (1887) remains the subject of academic debate.²⁶ What is clear is that the Football League was an immediate success with clubs enjoying increased gate receipts almost across the board.²⁷ It inspired the establishment of a host of leagues and by 1889 notable examples in existence were the Football Alliance, the Lancashire League, the Midland Counties League, the Northern Football League and the North Eastern Football League.²⁸ However, there were potential pitfalls as was illustrated by the collapse of the loosely structured Second Combination League in March 1889. It had been set up in parallel to the Football League and boasted among its twenty member clubs the former FA Cup holders Blackburn Olympic, Burslem Port Vale, Crewe Alexandra, Grimsby Town and Newton Heath. A

²⁵ Russell, *Football and the English*, pp.31-2; Taylor, *Association Game*, pp.65-6; Taylor, *The Leaguers*, p.4; Williams, *Code War*, pp.102-3.

²⁶ Taylor, *Association Game*, p.66; Taylor, *The Leaguers*, p.4; Williams, *Code War*, p.103.

²⁷ Taylor, *The Leaguers*, p.5; David Kennedy, 'Special Issue: The Split: a social and political history of Everton & Liverpool football clubs, 1878-1914', *Soccer & Society*, Vol.12, No.4, July 2011, p.489.

²⁸ Taylor, *Association Game*, p.67.

haphazard fixture list and, perhaps crucially, the failure to produce a league table led to its demise.²⁹

Arguably, it is the early years of the Scottish Football League (SFL), formed in 1890, that offers an almost mirror image of the establishment of the YSC. Among the founders of the SFL was a similar recognition to those of the YSC clubs of a need to stabilise income streams and a concern that an early exit from the cup could be disastrous for a club's finances. The Abercorn FC delegate welcomed the proposed league with the expectation that 'they would have increased gates, which was much needed in these days of increased expenditure and improved grounds'.³⁰ Just as the formation of the Football League has been a challenge to the authority of the Football Association, it was openly acknowledged that the formation of the SFL could eventually undermine the authority of the Scottish Football Association (SFA). The YSC would likewise find itself often at loggerheads with the Yorkshire Rugby Union and the Rugby Football Union. Clearly clubs acting as a cartel would occasionally find that the interests of their league could be viewed as contrary to the good of the greater game. Indeed, the SFL's first secretary, J.H. McLaughlin of Celtic, said that the league would only be viable if it operated as a closed shop. He stated that league games had to take preference over all

²⁹ Williams, *Code War*, p.106.

³⁰ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, p.11.

games, except Scottish Cup ties, and that members must not play friendly games against non-league clubs in towns where a league match had been arranged for the same day.³¹

The SFA sent a delegate to the inaugural meeting of the SFL to state that the league 'must be strictly amateur and recognise the SFA as the governing body'.³² Although the SFL was duly constituted as an amateur organisation, as Crampsey wrote, 'it was an open secret that most clubs kept two sets of books'. However, the SFA did not pursue allegations of professionalism with the same zeal as the YRU as 'it had no clear idea what do in light of such a revelation'. The SFA inaction was partly due to the fact that professionalism in England had made surreptitious payments to players in Scotland essential if the Scottish clubs were to retain the best of their playing talent.³³ Attempts to legalise professionalism were defeated on two occasions. In another parallel with Rugby Union's professionalism debates, during one vote advocates of amateurism were accused to mobilising what was described as 'backwoods' clubs for whom professionalism was an impossibility. However, despite the dogged opposition professionalism was adopted at the third time of asking in May 1893.³⁴ One of the main opponents of professionalism was Queen's Park.

³¹ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, pp.13-14.

³² Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, p.10.

³³ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, pp.18-22.

³⁴ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, pp.23-4.

In a similar vein to the stance taken by Leeds in respect of the YSC, they refused to join the SFL as they considered it a danger to the smaller and weaker teams. Queen's Park, again like Leeds, had developed a large ground, which, with the loss of attractive fixtures against not only the top Scottish sides, but also English clubs who were also unavailable due to their league commitments, placed their finances under considerable strain. Queen's Park stood aloof for ten years before succumbing to the inevitable when they were elected to the league in 1900.³⁵

Therefore, when an alliance of the top 'gate taking' clubs of Yorkshire rugby tabled a proposal during the summer of 1892 for a self-governing league, they had no shortage of football leagues they could use as a framework. However, as Collins noted, the YSC was 'based explicitly on the organisation of the Football League'.³⁶ The YRU committee, fearful of having its authority usurped by a cartel of the top clubs, refused to sanction the 'alliance' and made a counter proposal of a league involving every Yorkshire team. A scheduled meeting between the opposing sides at Leeds descended into farce when the two sides could not agree on a venue: the alliance clubs gathered at the Queen's Hotel, while the YRU met at its usual location of the Green Dragon. At first neither party was willing to change locations, but reluctantly,

³⁵ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, p.14, 43; Collins, *Great Split*, pp.78-9; Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp.138-45.

³⁶ Collins, *Great Split*, p.78.

and perhaps significantly, the YRU delegation relented and met the alliance clubs at the Queen's Hotel. Even then there was a dispute as to whether James Miller, YRU secretary and Leeds committee member, or T.A. Corry, of the alliance and Bradford, should chair the meeting. Once again the clubs had their way and Corry took the chair. The YRU finally stood its ground and reiterated its opposition to the proposed league system. The alliance clubs threatened to withdraw from the Yorkshire Cup unless the league was accepted. The meeting broke up with no agreement with the result that the draw for the first round of the cup had to be postponed.³⁷ The threat to the integrity of the cup was too much for the YRU and in late August the YRU voted unanimously to accept the league.³⁸ Although the clubs had clearly won, the YRU managed to insert a clause into the agreement that it reserved the right to override any decisions made by the 'alliance' clubs. Additionally, the new league was to be entitled the Yorkshire Senior Competition. The word 'league' was not used as the YRU felt it was too closely related to professionalism.³⁹ This mirrored the sentiments of the Third Lanark delegate at the founding meeting of the SFL who described the term league as 'obnoxious' and suggested 'The Football Union' as an alternative.⁴⁰ The concessions made by the YSC clubs were minor. The YSC was effectively a

³⁷ *Yorkshire Herald*, 9 Aug. 1892.

³⁸ *Yorkshire Herald*, 26 Aug. 1892; Williams, *Code War*, p.121.

³⁹ Collins, *Great Split*, p.78.

⁴⁰ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, p.12.

separate body from the county union and under the complete control of the clubs. Each club had an official on the YSC committee. They had wide-ranging powers, which included: 'all questions of qualification, match schedules, disputes and player transfers'.⁴¹

The only major club that did not join the YSC was Leeds. One of the their influential committee members, James Miller, had been central to opposition to the YSC, and that probably explains Leeds's initial stance. However, once the league had been formed it made financial, and practical, sense for Leeds to join. Leeds thus dispatched a delegation to the inaugural meeting of the YSC to plead the club's case for membership of the league. The meeting, held in perhaps another snub to the authority of the YRU at the Talbot Hotel, Bradford, listened to Leeds's hour-long statement and promptly rejected it. In what was probably a predetermined move, the delegation was also informed that none of the YSC clubs would play Leeds except if drawn against them in the Yorkshire Cup.⁴² The rejection of Leeds left the YSC with an odd number of clubs, so Manningham was invited to complete the league. The formation of the YSC was arguably as significant a moment as the iconic great split of rugby three years later. It illustrated the fact that the balance of power was beginning to shift towards the clubs. It also set in train, or at least significantly

⁴¹ *Yorkshire Herald*, 26 Aug. 1892.

⁴² *Yorkshire Herald*, 31 Aug. 1892; *Leeds Mercury*, 2 Sept. 1892.

accelerated, a series of events that would shape rugby's future for the following century. *The Pall Mall Gazette* stated the obvious when it said that the leading Yorkshire clubs were 'slowly but surely' moving away from amateurism. It thought that the league format would attract ever-larger crowds and 'with so much money professionalism is inevitable'. It ended by praising the Leeds club for standing aloof from the YSC.⁴³ Warm words did not pay the bills for Leeds and less than a fortnight after that article was published Leeds applied for, and were accepted into, the YSC for the 1893-4 season.⁴⁴

Leeds had altered their stance because, not only had the loss of fixtures against their neighbouring clubs been disastrous for their finances, the YSC was an immediate success. Although winning the Yorkshire Cup remained the ultimate measure of success, the formalised fixture list of the YSC brought regular, and lucrative, meetings with local rivals. With meaning added to the non-cup matches five-figure crowds could be attracted to the best YSC fixtures. In particular 'derby' matches became highly anticipated fixtures. Unlike the cup the YSC matches were defined, they had a slot on the calendar. Both Bradford and Manningham had particularly strong sides when the YSC was formed. An intense rivalry was forming between the two clubs and that

⁴³ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 Oct. 1892.

⁴⁴ *Yorkshire Herald*, 14 Oct. 1892. The price of being outside the YSC was a heavy one. Leeds lost £800 in 1892-3.

was reflected in the attendances attracted the matches. At Park Avenue on Boxing Day 1893 a 'derby' crowd of 18,408 generated record gate receipts of £416 9s.⁴⁵ It was a level popularity that arguably only the Football League could match.

Although the derby matches had the potential to be season defining moments in their own right, victory, however satisfying to local pride, brought exactly the same two points as any other. However, Bradford's two derby victories during 1892-3 must have been especially satisfying as they helped them to win the inaugural YSC championship shield.⁴⁶ At Bradford's AGM several telling comments were made. The first came as T.A. Corrie was congratulating the players on their YSC triumph he was interrupted with a shout of 'when are you going to win the cup?' That probably reflected the history and prestige of the cup competition in the eyes of the supporters. It may also have been indicative of the fact that success in one competition raised expectations in another. Corry said that if Bradford was to retain their prominence in the game they would 'have to increase their accommodation' and thus, they hoped, their gate receipts. Of course, expanding the ground would incur substantial capital expenditure. This was complicated by the fact that the football club regularly shared its profits with the parent Bradford Cricket,

⁴⁵ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 26 Dec. 1893.

⁴⁶ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 4 Mar. 1893, 6 Mar. 1893.

Athletic & Football Club. As the football club's income increased it was perhaps natural that a re-evaluation of the relationships between the constituent bodies would occur. Those tensions were arguably apparent as Corrie complained that during his time on the football club's committee they had handed over £15,000 to the Bradford Cricket, Athletic & Football Club. He concluded that it was time that the football section 'spent a little more on themselves'.⁴⁷ In Scotland Crampsey noted that many clubs had been multi-sport prior to the league's formation, Clyde for example had cricket and tennis sections, but few of the additional sports would survive as the football became ever more professional.⁴⁸

The tensions evident at Park Avenue would only have been heightened when the following season Manningham not only defeated Bradford in the two derby matches, but also won the 1893-4 YSC championship. When the Manningham team arrived at Bradford Exchange station they were met by a reported 10,000 well-wishers. The Manningham Brass Band played 'See the conquering hero come'. Manningham Lane was 'thronged with promenading football enthusiasts' as a celebration dinner took place at the Belle Vue.⁴⁹ Those scenes were identical to those that had greeted Bradford's 1884

⁴⁷ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 18 May 1893.

⁴⁸ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, p.15.

⁴⁹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 20 Mar. 1893, 21 Mar. 1893.

Yorkshire Cup winners and it confirms that the league format had managed to widen the popular appeal of rugby beyond the cup competitions.⁵⁰ The, by now, standard meet and greet celebration template was just one part of the emergence of a recognisably modern sporting culture and landscape. There was a defined season with its rhythm of league matches punctuated by cup-ties. The local newspapers carried pen pictures of players that began to evolve into interviews. As Mason noted, this was representative of a growing emphasis on 'the lives and personalities of the heroes' of the sporting world.⁵¹

One player who attracted the attention of the media was Manningham's New Zealander George Stephenson. He introduced an element of internationalism, or at least the wider British Empire, in the domestic Rugby Union game.⁵² His arrival in Bradford in 1891 ran parallel with the previously noted realignment of the Bradford textile trade towards the markets of the Empire in the wake of the imposition of American trade tariffs. In some respects it could be said that Stephenson was a physical representation of those changes as Stephenson's father, a wool merchant, had arranged for his son to expand his knowledge of the trade with Reddiough & Son. Even prior to the American trade tariffs Bradford had well-established trading links with Australia and New Zealand,

⁵⁰ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.65.

⁵¹ Tony Mason, 'Sport', Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds., *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994), p.293.

⁵² Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.63. Stephenson would have probably had what Collins described as a pan-Britannic identity.

as early as 1800 100,000 lbs of wool had been imported for use in Bradford's mills. By 1874, with British wool in short supply, 225,462,101 lbs arrived from the antipodes. The importance of this market is illustrated by the fact that Bradford manufacturers established wool-purchasing offices in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney.⁵³ Despite this lucrative trade, the nineteen-year-old Stephenson appears to have treated his time in the wool capital of the world as something of an extended holiday, with playing rugby the number one priority. He had trained with Bradford FC, but when it was suggested that he play in the 'A' team he crossed town to Valley Parade and was immediately put into Manningham's first XV. The exploits of the Dunedin born player were closely followed in the New Zealand press.⁵⁴ During his time at Valley Parade he scored twenty-one tries in forty games and helped his club become champions of the YSC. Stephenson's father was not impressed by his son's success on the field of play and recalled him to New Zealand during the summer of 1894.⁵⁵ A farewell party was thrown for Stephenson and the club presented him with 'a handsome gold scarf pin as a memento of his sojourn in Bradford, and as a token of respect from several of his personal friends on the committee'.⁵⁶

⁵³ Firth, 'Bradford Trade', pp.19-26.

⁵⁴ *Otago Witness*, 24 May 1894.

⁵⁵ <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s33/stephenson-george> accessed 9 May 2014.

⁵⁶ Charles Little, 'The Maori Man for Manningham: Searching for George Stephenson', paper presented at British Society for Sports History Annual Conference, Leicester, May 2004. Stephenson returned to Bradford in 1901 and became possibly the first New Zealander to play professional Rugby League.

It is impossible to know definitively whether Stephenson was paid during his spell with Manningham, but given the prevailing climate among the northern rugby clubs it is probable he received some kind of recompense. In 1893 northern clubs had attempted to have broken-time payments to players made legal. This was far from fully blown professionalism as it was framed as compensation for players who would lose money when absent from work when playing for their clubs. However, it was rejected at the RFU's 1893 AGM. In its wake the RFU significantly hardened their stance on professionalism allegations and Huddersfield, Leigh, Salford and Wigan were subsequently suspended.⁵⁷ The plight of the suspended clubs and banned players attracted widespread sympathy in the northern media. One example was the former Manningham captain Billy Fawcett who was banned for life by the RFU. Fawcett had been Manningham captain between 1885 and 1888. When he emigrated to Manitoba, Canada in 1890 to become a cattle farmer, his friends at Valley Parade gave him £29 in order to buy a piano as a leaving present.⁵⁸ He had hoped that the move would be permanent. However, when he returned to Bradford four years later (to become the licensee of the Peel Hotel), the gift classed him as a professional in the eyes of the RFU.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.130-42.

⁵⁸ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 30 Sept. 1890.

⁵⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 31 Jul. 1894, 31 Aug. 1894, 10 Nov. 1894.

As professionalism rules were tightened clubs and individuals sought ways of circumventing them. A favourite ruse was installing players as landlords in public houses conveniently close to their home grounds. The brewers were delighted with the increase in trade a popular footballer would bring, while the player - in all probability completely ignorant of the licensing trade - welcomed the wages and freedom to train and play in mid-week matches. Indeed, *Yorkshire Owl* informed its readers they could spend a 'football evening' in Bradford, listing eleven pubs in the centre that were run by, or connected with, players of Bradford and Manningham.⁶⁰ One of those publican-footballers was Bradford's England international Tommy Dobson who in early 1895 was landlord of the Millers Inn.⁶¹ Similarly, 'Donny' Donaldson of Manningham leased the billiard room of the Carlisle Hotel, it was expected that, because he was one of the club's most popular players, his speculation had every chance of being a success.⁶² Publicans with links to the local clubs advertised regularly in the football editions of the newspapers. On 10 November 1894 three advertisements appeared: Manningham's former captain Billy Fawcett, Peel Hotel; Bradford's Arthur Briggs, Tumbling Hill Tavern; Manningham's Ike Newton, Bavaria Hotel.⁶³ The parallels with

⁶⁰ *Yorkshire Owl*, 23 Jan. 1895; Collins, *Great Split*, p.91.

⁶¹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 28 Feb. 1895.

⁶² *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 12 Jan. 1895.

⁶³ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 10 Nov. 1894.

football are notable. Mason listed numerous examples of professional footballers running public houses in locations such as Blackburn, Bolton and Padiham.⁶⁴ In Scotland Crampsey noted prominent footballers being employed as publicans when the SFL was still supposedly amateur.⁶⁵

In another illustration of the spread of transnational networks in sport and the standing of Manningham FC in the game of rugby came in December 1894 when Manningham was invited to play Stade Français and become only the fourth English club to play in Europe. This case study is a small response to Taylor's observation that historians have been slow to recognise that examinations of sport might help understandings of transnational linkages.⁶⁶ The fact that a match in Paris was viable is also an indication of the transformation of communications, transport and 'associational connections' that Taylor claimed were particularly important in the period between 1880 to 1920 as sport began to become international.⁶⁷ The previous English clubs to visit France were Civil Service, Oxford University and Rosslyn Park.⁶⁸ There

⁶⁴ Mason, *Association Football*, pp.118-19.

⁶⁵ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, p.23.

⁶⁶ Matthew Taylor, 'Editorial - sport, transnationalism, and global history', *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 8, issue 2, July 2013, p.200.

⁶⁷ Taylor, 'Editorial', p.201.

⁶⁸ Philip Dine, *French Rugby Football* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p.19, 27, pp.33-4; Geoff Hare, 'What is an International Match? French football clubs and the earliest 'international matches'', *Sport in History*, DOI: 10.1080/17460263.2015.1071081, pp.16-17; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 4 Apr. 1893; *Daily News*, 4 Apr. 1893. Hare omits Manningham's game from his extensive list of what he terms 'international' matches.

is no doubt that the French were fully aware of the 'formidable reputation' of Manningham. Indeed, it was reported that the game was 'being regarded more in the light of an international fixture'.⁶⁹ As *The Graphic* wrote:

Hitherto, French footballers have been satisfied with pitting themselves against our third or fourth-class teams; but no doubt they have heard of the fame of the Yorkshire football and long to see some of it.⁷⁰

While the prowess of Manningham on the field of play is the likely reason for their appearance on the playing fields of Paris, there is the possibility that trading links could have played a part. France was both a competitor and important market for Bradford's textile trade, undoubtedly that will have resulted in the formation of commercial and social links. However, perhaps more intriguingly is the fact that among the official party was Tony Fattorini. He had strong links with athletics and would become a timekeeper at several Olympic games and a member of the International Olympic Committee. Pierre de Coubertin attended the game against Manningham, so there is the possibility that it was a personal relationship between the two men that brought Manningham to Paris. However, it is more likely that the occasion brought the two men together. Indeed, the importance of these early rugby

⁶⁹ Dine, *French Rugby*, pp.33-4; *Bradford Daily Argus*, 10 Nov. 1894; *Leeds Mercury*, 5 Dec. 1894.

⁷⁰ *The Graphic*, 1 Dec. 1894, issue 1305.

tours in building networks is illustrated by the fact that Sir John Astley and Lord Dufferin, both of whom were present at the 1892 and 1893 Anglo-French rugby matches, joined Pierre de Coubertin on the first Olympic committee.⁷¹

While the benefits of a match with Manningham are fairly easy to quantify for Stade Français, the attractions for the Yorkshire club are rather more oblique. Undoubtedly, their expenses would have been covered. Even the arch amateurs of Queen's Park demanded £100 for their trip to Denmark, and undoubtedly the likes of Rosslyn Park will not have found themselves out of pocket following a visit to Paris.⁷² The answer probably lies in a combination of the status an international match offered and the attraction of a few days in the French capital. The status would probably not have been about being on a par with Stade Français' previous opponents, the Civil Service or Oxford University, but it would have been measured against Bradford, Manningham's cross-town rivals. Bradford had cancelled their 1893 tour of southern England and visited Wales instead - possibly to poach players.⁷³ The symbolism of Manningham in Paris while Bradford undertook a low-key trip to Wales may not have been lost on the supporters and officials of both clubs.

⁷¹ Hare, 'International Match', p.9.

⁷² Matthew McDowell, 'Queen's Park FC in Copenhagen, 1898-1903, paradoxes in early transnational amateurism', pp.9-10, www.idrottsforum.org/mcdowell11140514 accessed 9 June 2014.

⁷³ Trevor Delaney, *The Roots of Rugby League* (Keighley: Delaney, 1984), p.15.

What is perhaps surprising about Manningham's trip to Paris was the amount of supporters who travelled with the team. Thomas Cook was entrusted with the travel arrangements and in the lead up to the fixture their Bradford office was said to be a hive of activity. However, as tickets were priced at £3 18s 6d, around three times higher than the average weekly wage, it is likely that the travellers would have come from the middle class. Interest was higher than initially expected, so much so that rather than add a carriage to the scheduled express to London St. Pancras, a special train was arranged complete with Pullman dining and parlour cars and ordinary saloon carriages.⁷⁴ On the afternoon of Saturday 1 December 1894 a large crowd of supporters gathered to see the party of 135 depart for the French capital. Around seventy supporters travelled with the players and officials.⁷⁵ They arrived in Paris at 5.38am the following morning. After resting at a hotel Manningham met Stade Français at Vélodrome de Courbevoie. A crowd of around 1,500 witnessed an easy 27-0 victory for Manningham.⁷⁶ The following day the party visited Versailles and on the Tuesday viewed the principal sites of Paris. Sightseeing tours by visiting sportsmen seems to have been an integral part of any trip. The Marylebone Football Club and Belize Football Club, who visited

⁷⁴ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 20 Nov. 1894, 30 Nov. 1894.

⁷⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 1 Dec. 1894.

⁷⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 3 Dec. 1894.

in March 1894, included walks along the Champs-Elysees, visits to Longchamp, Trocadero and the Eiffel Tower in their itineraries.⁷⁷

Manningham's journey home commenced at 9pm on the Wednesday, and after a day sightseeing in London the party arrived back in Bradford at 6.30am on Friday 5 December. A 'palpably out of condition' side managed a 3-3 draw at Batley the following day.⁷⁸ As the majority of Manningham's players were drawn from the working classes it was perhaps inevitable that their trip to France would attract suggestions that they had been paid. The *Leeds Mercury* countered by informing its readers:

Is it heinous for example for the Manningham committee to pay the expenses of their team to Paris for a few days, when it is quite legitimate for a crack southern team to tour for a week at the expense of the clubs they play.⁷⁹

iii A Northern Union, rugby's second league

⁷⁷ Sorez, 'Football in Paris', pp.1130-1; Hare, 'International Match', p.8.

⁷⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 8 Dec. 1894.

⁷⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 10 Dec. 1894.

The tensions within the game of rugby, as illustrated by the suspension of clubs, bans handed down to players and accusations of hidden payments levelled against Manningham in the wake of their Paris trip, boiled over when in 1894 the RFU introduced a highly controversial six-point motion. One stated that any club or player charged with professionalism would be considered guilty until they proved otherwise. Whether it was a move to bolster the tenets of amateurism, or deliberate provocation designed to cause a rupture of the game on a north-south axis, is debatable. It was viewed as an affront to natural justice and 'un-English'. Amid huge opposition the RFU withdrew the motion.⁸⁰ It was a tactical defeat for the RFU, but Rowland Hill, the RFU secretary, attempted to present it as a magnanimous gesture to acknowledge the difficult position of the likes of Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds, whose respectable self-image arguably distanced them from the working class dominated clubs such as Hunslet and Manningham. Hill claimed that the motion had been withdrawn because 'they did not want to have a split with those they believed to be favourable to the cause of amateur football'.⁸¹ It can only be speculation as to whether Hill's stance was genuine empathy with Yorkshire's big three or an attempt cause debilitating divisions between the clubs.

⁸⁰ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 29 Dec. 1894; Collins, *Great Split*, p.144.

⁸¹ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.144-5.

However, despite the defeat of the six-point motion, in February 1895 the RFU was reported to be considering a proposal to abolish all leagues. The *Leeds Mercury* described the RFU's actions as a 'crusade'.⁸² The leading clubs of Lancashire and Yorkshire discussed the formation of a Northern Union. Initially, it was envisaged as a union within a union; likened to the Football League's relationship with the Football Association. The Northern Union was projected as a mutual protection society and the logical enlargement of the YSC with transfers between clubs regulated and an annual challenge match arranged between the champions of Lancashire and Yorkshire. However, an initially secret clause, which stated that in the event of a member club being expelled or punished by the RFU, or the county bodies, the club would have the right to appeal to the Northern Union indicated a degree of autonomy that was a direct challenge to the hegemony of the RFU.⁸³

Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds failed to give the agreement their unequivocal backing. The three clubs met at Bradford and it was reported that they would decline to be 'a party to any movement which would entail expulsion from the ranks of the Rugby Union'.⁸⁴ The *Bradford Daily Telegraph* carried a headline that stated 'expected collapse of the new body'. The

⁸² *Leeds Mercury*, 11 Feb. 1895.

⁸³ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.145-6.

⁸⁴ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 28 Mar. 1895; 29 Mar. 1895.

Bradford FC committee hardened their stance following a meeting at the Talbot Hotel when it 'was decided not to join with the other Yorkshire and Lancashire clubs in the formation of the union, but to adhere to the English Rugby Union'.⁸⁵ The decision had been arrived at due to opposition to the so-called 'secret clause' and the fact that Bradford had believed that the new union would encompass all the clubs of the northern counties, rather than just the senior competition clubs, and that an all-encompassing league was to be established. However, the following day, in the wake of a meeting of the YSC clubs, attended by Bradford's Harry Briggs, it was reported that 'a semi-official denial was given to reports of the withdrawal of Bradford, Leeds and Huddersfield'. *The Bradford Daily Telegraph* advised its readers that 'the statement must be received with a large amount of caution'.⁸⁶ The *Daily News* welcomed the stance of Bradford, stating that it was 'a very wise decision, for the Rugby Union is not likely to consent to the formation of a court of appeal selected from the semi-professional club managers of Yorkshire and Lancashire'.⁸⁷

In August 1895 the RFU withdrew the powers given to the YSC clubs stating rule fourteen which stated that 'any independent league or combination is

⁸⁵ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 3 Apr. 1895.

⁸⁶ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 4 Apr. 1895.

⁸⁷ *Daily News*, 6 Apr. 1895.

expressly forbidden'.⁸⁸ This made organising the season's fixtures all but impossible and, combined with the expulsion of the YSC clubs from the Yorkshire Cup, it left the clubs in a very difficult position. Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield and Leeds submitted an unsuccessful resolution to the YSC clubs that was described by an unnamed official as 'unconditional surrender to the county committee'.⁸⁹ Bradford seemed intent on playing a strictly amateur team for the coming season. It was thought that Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds would subsidise their amateur teams, and presumably the loss of fixtures against virtually all their Yorkshire rivals, by adopting 'rather extensively' association football.⁹⁰ Collins stated that the adoption of association football sections was 'regarded as an insurance policy' so that in the event of being banned by the RFU the clubs had soccer to fall back on.⁹¹ However, an alternative conclusion could be that a professional or semi-professional association football team would subsidise amateur rugby union and provide the income required to repay the substantial outlay expended on the grounds at Park Avenue, Fartown and Headingley.⁹² It could be argued that the theory is supported by the fact that the four clubs who

⁸⁸ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 9 Aug. 1895.

⁸⁹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 21 Aug. 1895.

⁹⁰ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 24 Aug. 1895.

⁹¹ Collins, *Great Split*, p.182.

⁹² Collins, *Great Split*, p.148.

proposed the 'unconditional surrender' to the RFU were the only organisations who had active association sections at the time of the split.⁹³

The YSC clubs, including Manningham, perhaps tiring of the machinations of the wavering clubs, said they would form a new union 'with or without ... Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds'.⁹⁴ Bradford's Harry Briggs travelled to London to meet Rowland Hill of the RFU. Briggs handed Hill a series of questions including 'what support could Bradford, Leeds and Huddersfield obtain from southern clubs if they rejoined the Yorkshire Union?'⁹⁵ Hill replied by letter, informing the clubs that even if they remained within the union they could not expect to be allocated games against the top southern clubs.⁹⁶ Effectively cut adrift by the RFU, and economically bound by large mortgages on their expensively developed grounds, Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds were left with no alternative but to join the Northern Union.

At several points during the dispute the RFU had the opportunity to seek a compromise, but failed to do so. An olive branch to Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds could have fatally undermined the infant Northern Union. As the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* commented 'if Leeds, Huddersfield and Halifax had

⁹³ Collins, *Great Split*, p.182.

⁹⁴ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 25 Aug. 1895.

⁹⁵ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 27 Aug. 1895.

⁹⁶ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 29 Aug. 1895; *Yorkshire Post*, 27 Aug. 1895; Collins, *Great Split*, p.148.

stood firm ... there is no doubt that Bradford would have continued to play a purely amateur game'.⁹⁷ Bereft of the gate revenue generated by matches against Yorkshire's biggest clubs the lesser clubs may have been forced to alter their stance on broken time payments. The counter argument is that Manningham and Hunslet could have replaced Bradford and Leeds as the main gate-taking clubs in their respective cities, condemning Bradford and Leeds to relative obscurity as happened to the high-class Liverpool and Manchester clubs.

Because the Northern Union was the birth child of rugby's great split it is tempting, as many have, to frame the dispute as a north-south divide. However, it is important to remember that the YRU was a central actor in the split. Some of amateurism's strongest adherents were Yorkshiremen: Harry Garnett of Bradford; the Rev. Frank Marshall of Huddersfield; and James Miller of Leeds.⁹⁸ It is noteworthy that the big trio of Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds were partly represented by those men; again it begs the question as to why a compromise could not have been negotiated. The answer probably lies with the commercialism and competitiveness of industrial capitalism. Of the trio only Garnett was an industrialist, but he had been educated at

⁹⁷ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 29 Aug. 1895.

⁹⁸ As was noted earlier Miller had argued for broken time payments at the 1893 RFU AGM, but he had also opposed the formation of the YSC and after the split of rugby in 1895 became an implacable opponent of professionalism. Ironically, in his later life he was jailed for embezzling money.

Blackheath Preparatory School and his brothers had attended Rugby School. By contrast the majority of the committee men, players and supporters of the leading clubs would have been all too familiar with the daily reality of a business seeking to gain a commercial advantage or the worker labouring to put a meal on the family table. When viewed in that context perhaps the RFU was correct to conclude that compromise in 1895 would have only delayed the inevitable confrontation. For amateurism to survive in a capitalist society it had to cut adrift those elements who were unwilling, or unable, to accept and defer to its tenets. However, such actions weakened the entire game and when further challenges came to amateurism in places such as the east Midlands and south Wales, a blind eye had to be turned in order to keep Rugby Union credible as a national sport.⁹⁹ Perhaps the overriding factor was the social tensions of the 1890s. When football resolved its issues with professionalism in the 1880s it was against a backdrop of relative prosperity. By contrast the 1890s was a decade of strikes and social unrest.¹⁰⁰ Additionally, the adherents of amateurism had no other codified team sport to retreat to. Rugby could be viewed as amateurism's last bastion in the context of team sport. A huge amount of emotion and identity had been invested in

⁹⁹ Collins, *English Rugby Union*, p.36; Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp.201-02.

¹⁰⁰ Collins, *English Rugby Union*, p.30; E Dunning & K Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (Oxford, 1979), pp.175-200; Huw Richards, *A Game for Hooligans, the history of rugby union* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2006), p.76; Dave Russell, *Football and the English, a social history of English football in England, 1863-1995* (Preston: Carnegie, 1997), p.28.

the game and by 1895 it probably represented much more than a mere pastime.

At 6.30pm on Thursday 29 August 1895, representatives of twenty-one clubs - including Manningham's Tony Fattorini - met at the George Hotel, Huddersfield. Twenty resigned en masse from the RFU and founded the Northern Union.¹⁰¹ The decision to form the Northern Union was ratified almost unanimously at club meetings. There were 100% votes in favour at Broughton Rangers, Hunslet, Hull, Leigh, Manningham and St Helens.¹⁰² Only at Bradford was there serious opposition. Three committee members and four senior players resigned in protest.¹⁰³ However, even at clubs where there had been unanimous backing for the Northern Union hopes were expressed that the schism with the RFU was a temporary aberration. For example Manningham's Tony Fattorini said:

If the new union were properly conducted, the Rugby Union would have to recognise professionalism in some form or another in the future or they would find ere long the only support they received would be from the universities and the public schools.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 29 Aug. 1895, 30 Aug. 1895.

¹⁰² *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 7 Sept. 1895.

¹⁰³ Collins, *Great Split*, p.158.

¹⁰⁴ *Yorkshire Post*, 7 Sept. 1895.

Given the entrenched attitude of the RFU Fattorini's hopes were forlorn if not also a little naive.¹⁰⁵ However, Fattorini may have taken the relationship between the Football League and Football Association as the basis for his hoped for reconciliation between the Northern Union and the Rugby Union. Two years later when the RFU ignored professionalism within the Welsh game, and thereby avoided another split that could have seen Welsh clubs joining the Northern Union en masse and potentially changing the entire dynamic of the rugby game, the likes of Fattorini must have realised that there would be no rapprochement.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the central core of Yorkshire Rugby Union leadership, which included Bradford's Harry Garnett, and Leeds's James Miller, had implemented a strategy of reconstructing the YRU on the public school ethos of the 1860s and 1870s.¹⁰⁷ The officials and players who remained loyal to the RFU formed a new wave of clubs. A group disenfranchised by Bradford's decision to join the Northern Union formed a club that became known as the Bradford Wanderers. An apt name given that they had no permanent home ground, a policy that may have had its roots in fundamentalist amateurism and a defiant reaction to the forces of

¹⁰⁵ Collins, *Great Split*, p.159.

¹⁰⁶ Collins, *English Rugby Union*, p.41.

¹⁰⁷ Collins, *Great Split*, p.163.

professionalism, until they eventually settled as Bradford RUFC at Lidget Green in 1919.¹⁰⁸

Once the Northern Union had safely negotiated its first season the practical and financial attraction of the new code resulted in a wave of defections. Although the Bradford & District Rugby Union, and their Huddersfield counterparts, voted to disaffiliate from YRU en masse and join the Northern Union, the overall process was slower than those dramatic gestures suggest. As late as 1898 at least seventy-one clubs in Bradford were still playing Rugby Union.¹⁰⁹ Only two clubs were reported to be playing under the auspices of the Northern Union outside the elite YSC. In comparison fifty-one clubs were already playing football as well as fourteen schools. This trend will be examined in detail in the following chapter, but it is early evidence that there was a switch from rugby to football and this marks a rejection of not just the RFU but rugby in its entirety. What is clear is that the hollowing out of the union game accelerated to such an extent that by 1901 the Yorkshire Cup, which at its height attracted 132 entrants, was contested by a mere eleven clubs.¹¹⁰ Individual players faced a similar quandary. Several of Bradford's top players initially refused to commit themselves to the Northern Union in

¹⁰⁸ Phil Sharpe, 'Bradford Rugby Union Football Club', *The Bradford Bystander*, Vol.2, no.15, November 1965.

¹⁰⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 4 Nov., 18 Nov., 25 Nov., 2 Dec., 1898.

¹¹⁰ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.161-2.

order to keep their options open in case the new code proved to be a financial disaster.¹¹¹ As the Rugby Union game evaporated before their eyes most had little choice but to join a Northern Union club. Others had their hand forced, one example being Bradford's former England international Tom Broadley, who, on being informed that he was to be the subject of an YRU inquiry, defected to Bradford's Northern Union club.

Collins stated that although the majority of Northern Union clubs enjoyed increased profits during the inaugural season, expenditure on grounds and hidden payments to players ate into those profits. Bradford and Leeds, who had large capital investments in their grounds, 'faced a constant battle for financial success'.¹¹² The inauguration of the Northern Union Cup in 1897, which attracted fifty-three entrants and average crowds of over 6,000, and a divisional split into Lancashire and Yorkshire sections for the 1896-7 season, was designed to improve profitability.¹¹³ Success on the field was the only certain way of guaranteeing financial improvements. Manningham won the Northern Union's inaugural championship winning the title at Hunslet on the last day of the season. The by now familiar formula for the victorious team of a parade through the streets awaited Manningham on their return to

¹¹¹ Williams, *Bradford Northern*, p.4.

¹¹² Collins, *Great Split*, p.159.

¹¹³ Collins, *Great Split*, p.166; Williams, *Bradford Northern*, p.5.

Bradford. Around 5,000 onlookers brought traffic to a standstill as players and officials appeared on the Belle Vue's balcony overlooking Manningham Lane. The biggest cheer came when George Lorimer, scorer of a third of the team's entire point total, took his turn to address the crowd.¹¹⁴ Bradford followed their neighbour's lead becoming champions in 1899-1900 and 1900-1.¹¹⁵

iv Death of a Hero

The untimely death of the hero resonates throughout human history. Morley wrote that 'death and the hero had long been separately cherished, Carlylean romanticism found its fulfilment in Wellington's funeral'.¹¹⁶ While it might be expected that a national figure would receive a farewell of Homeric proportions, those lower down the social scale could equally be bade farewell with a lavish public commemoration. Stevens Curl described the 1861 funeral of a London Fire Brigade superintendent, who died in heroic circumstances fighting a fire, as 'an extraordinary funeral [that] celebrated a perceived hero in the Carlylean mode, and was almost as grand as a state or royal funeral'.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 24 Apr. 1896, 27 Apr. 1896; Russell, *Football and the English*, p.65.

¹¹⁵ Williams, *Bradford Northern*, pp.9-10.

¹¹⁶ John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (Studio Vista, 1971), p.80.

¹¹⁷ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), p.209.

Although it has been argued that from the 1870s onwards the elaborate funeral procession was falling out of favour with the upper and middle classes, the 1890s have nonetheless been described as 'the golden age of the Victorian funeral'.¹¹⁸ Wilson wrote: 'The most elaborate ceremonials, of a kind which today would appear extravagant for the obsequies of a head of state, were matters of routine when burying a grocer or a doctor'.¹¹⁹ Litten and Stevens Curl claim ostentatious funeral processions were insisted upon by the lower orders and that even in the very poorest districts elaborate funeral processions were not uncommon and have been described as 'major sights'.¹²⁰

Given the context it would be surprising if a Victorian sporting personality did not have a lavish funeral. Perhaps what is notable is the regularity of the enormous numbers attracted to sportsmen's funerals. The 1820 funeral of the Irish boxer Donnelly reputedly attracted 80,000 mourners.¹²¹ The funerals of the Tyneside rowers Robert Chambers (1868), Harry Clasper (1870) and James Renforth (1871) were huge events with a reported 130,000 lining the route of Clasper's funeral procession.¹²² Even relatively modest sporting personalities

¹¹⁸ Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death, the common funeral since 1450* (1991), pp.170-1.

¹¹⁹ A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (Hutchinson, 2007), p.279.

¹²⁰ Litten, *English Way of Death*, p.171; Stevens Curl, *Celebration of Death*, pp.204-9.

¹²¹ Harvey, *Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture*, p.209.

¹²² David Clasper, *Harry Clasper, hero of the north* (Exeter: Gateshead Books, 1990), p.56, pp. 62-9; Peter Dillon, *The Tyne Oarsmen, Harry Clasper, Robert Chambers, James Renforth* (Newcastle: Keepdate, 1993), pp.1-2, p.40; Ian Whitehead, *James Renforth of Gateshead, champion sculler of the world* (Newcastle: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2004), p.133.

could attract large crowds to their funerals. For example the 1891 burial of a potshare bowler attracted 1,000 mourners from across Northumberland and County Durham.¹²³ The interment of Northumbrian pedestrian James Reay, who had been killed in an accident at Backworth Colliery in May 1895, attracted 5,000 people.¹²⁴ However, all the examples given were sportsmen who participated in individual sports as opposed to representative team sports.

The death of Manningham's 1896 championship winning hero George Lorimer, within a year of that feat, allows the opportunity to compare reactions to Lorimer's demise and consider what, if anything, it said about football culture in Bradford, Manningham as a football club and community and the Northern Union game. Lorimer died, aged twenty-four, from typhoid in the early hours of 8 February 1897.¹²⁵ Although Lorimer was a regional, possibly national, sporting personality, his funeral was arguably a localised celebration of sport, place and identity. Lorimer had been living with his brother John, himself a former Manningham player, at 40 Springcliffe Street, Manningham, a working-class terraced house in the shadow of the

¹²³ Alan Metcalfe, 'Potshare bowling' in the Mining Communities of east Northumberland 1800-1914', Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p.33.

¹²⁴ Alan Metcalfe, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community, the social economy of leisure in north-east England, 1820-1914* (Routledge, 2006), p.109.

¹²⁵ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 8 Feb. 1897.

Manningham Mills complex. Eddie Holmes, the former Manningham captain and England international player, was appointed as the undertaker. Holmes's shop, at 139 Oak Lane, was directly across the road from Manningham Mills and a short walk from the house where Lorimer died.¹²⁶ The funeral on 10 February 1897 was described as 'a sad and imposing spectacle and probably such a sight has never been witnessed in Manningham'.¹²⁷ The event was later called 'Manningham's state funeral' and as the procession made its way towards the cemetery the roads were lined by upwards of eight thousand onlookers.¹²⁸ Gunn described such processions, 'the centipedic funeral', as foremost in the public presentation of authority and civic importance of urban notables. He argued that the public nature of the funerals reflected the deceased status as 'public figures, closely identified with the city or locality'. In addition he claimed that the route of a procession was important as it would pass locations specific to the life of the deceased.¹²⁹ As Lorimer's funeral procession wound its way around the streets of Manningham and Heaton, and passed Lister Mills, the area's major employer, Lorimer being aligned with the everyday life of the community and thereby presenting the football club as a vehicle of local identity. It is likely that the scale of Lorimer's funeral was unprecedented for a non-civic figure. The fact that it

¹²⁶ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 9 Feb. 1897.

¹²⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 10 Feb. 1897.

¹²⁸ See Appendix F 'List of those Attending or Expressing Condolences at George Lorimer's Funeral'.

¹²⁹ Gunn, *Public Culture*, pp.176-7.

was on a similar scale to the funeral of the industrialist, former lord mayor and MP Titus Salt must say something about the importance and popularity of rugby football in 1890s Bradford.¹³⁰ In what might be viewed as a symbolic moment of identity, eight of Lorimer's team mates carried his coffin to the family grave. They wore claret and amber badges, made of crape and ribbons and after the coffin was lowered into the ground, they dropped the badges one by one into the open grave.¹³¹

Perhaps surprisingly, given the status afforded to the funeral, Lorimer's gravestone has no reference to his status as a rugby player. However, this is not unusual. Mike Huggins's analysis of over 800 gravestones of sporting figures in England found that only 5% had inscriptions acknowledging the deceased's sporting endeavours.¹³² The extravagant memorial to the Tyneside rower James Renforth is perhaps the exception that proves the rule.¹³³ As the Victorians produced 'an endless list' of keepsakes related to death, it is perhaps unsurprising that a specially produced Baines memorial card marked Lorimer's death.¹³⁴ The commercial exploitation of the death of Lorimer was far from unique; the demise of the James Renforth was marked by the

¹³⁰ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 10 Feb. 1897, 11 Feb. 1897.

¹³¹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 10 Feb. 1897, 11 Feb. 1897.

¹³² Huggins, 'Gone but not forgotten', pp.1-17; Huggins, 'Death, memorialisation', pp.257-65.

¹³³ Whitehead, *James Renforth*, pp.136-41.

¹³⁴ Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, p.14; Pendleton, *Paraders*, p.17; Stevens Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p.195.

production of dinner plates, glass eggs and photographs. There was even a suggestion that the public be charged sixpence to view Renforth's body.¹³⁵

Lorimer's funeral inspired Rev. Williams to preach a sermon 'the joy of youth and the judgement of age' on 21 February 1897 at the Greenfield Chapel on Carlisle Road, Manningham.¹³⁶ The sermon was attended by Lorimer's Manningham FC team mates and a large number of supporters. Both Fishwick and Russell have highlighted examples where the popularity of spectator sports was singled out and blamed for wider societal changes.¹³⁷ The sermons preached around the time of Lorimer's untimely death avoided direct criticism of the popularity of rugby, which may have been a pragmatic response to the audience and occasion. On another day the perceived threat of the large crowds attending rugby matches might, particularly if congregations were in decline, have provided a convenient scapegoat.

While the lavish funeral procession was not uncommon in wider Victorian society, the newspaper reports that stated that such a sight had not been witnessed in Manningham before does suggest something out of the ordinary did occur on the day that George Lorimer was carried to his final resting

¹³⁵ Whitehead, *James Renforth*, pp.132-47.

¹³⁶ *The Greenfield Pulpit*, no.35, WYB10/2/4/5, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford Central Library.

¹³⁷ Nicholas Fishwick, *English Football and Society, 1910-1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p.143; Russell, *Football and the English*, p.65

place. Was the Lorimer funeral not so much reflective of the status of the bereaved family, but, as the Northern Union carried its fallen hero to his grave, as a confirmation of the new code's survival and status in the wake of rugby's great split? For the Manningham club the funeral allowed the inaugural Northern Union champions a final chance to use Lorimer's prowess as a statement of independence and status. Although their rivals and neighbours, Bradford FC, was heavily represented among those paying their respects, the dropping of claret and amber rosettes one by one into the open grave could be interpreted as an indication of pride and permanence. It could be argued that Manningham was using ceremony to construct a history and reaffirm their identity. Perhaps most of all the funeral, occurring as it did as rugby teetered on the apex of its popularity before the incursions of football began in earnest, illustrated the enormous popularity of rugby and its centrality to society in both life and even death.

v The Decline of the Northern Union in Bradford

During the summer of 1897 Manningham FC spent around £400 redeveloping Valley Parade into one of the 'most commodious grounds in the county'.¹³⁸ The club had taken on the debt of the ground redevelopment immediately

¹³⁸ Pendleton, *Paraders*, pp.17-18.

after winning the Northern Union championship and a successful bazaar.¹³⁹ Increased gate receipts of £1,250 19s, had allowed the club's previous liabilities to be paid off. There must have been an expectation that success on the field would continue. Manningham also hoped that their revamped ground would be selected to host a cup semi-final or even the final itself, which would go a long way to paying off the cost of the development. Almost immediately a combination of poor results and success of neighbours Bradford placed pressure on the club's finances. In an attempt to reduce costs the club cut tea allowance due to each second team player by 6d. Five players went on strike and refused to play in the 'A' team fixture against Liversedge at Valley Parade. After a crisis meeting the second XV accepted the club's position that the allowances had to be reduced due to the expenditure lavished on the ground.¹⁴⁰

Manningham's 1898 annual meeting was informed that the club had lost £126. Gate receipts were down 15%.¹⁴¹ A slow start in the league, early exit from the cup and the fact that Bradford was challenging for the title until the last game of the season were the main causes for the losses. It was an early indication that success at Park Avenue could have a direct impact on the finances at

¹³⁹ *Telegraph & Argus*, 24 July 1953. Partial reprint of 1899 Manningham FC Bazaar Handbook.

¹⁴⁰ Collins, *Great Split*, p.174. In the first decade of the Northern Union Collins found evidence of at least fifteen player strikes.

¹⁴¹ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.22.

Valley Parade. Due to previous successes a balance of £459 was at hand. The following season was even more challenging, the 1899 annual meeting heard that £333 had been lost on the season and debts now stood at £750.¹⁴² In response the club offered life tickets at £10 and seven-year tickets at £2 2s. The impact of Manningham's financial constraints is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that they were by 1899 paying their players between 10 shillings and sixpence for a game at Millom. By contrast Elland, a relatively minor player in the Northern Union, was reported to be offering 16 shillings for a victory, 12 shillings for a draw and 8 shillings for a defeat.¹⁴³

Change was needed if the club was to remain viable. Local businessman Alfred Ayrton was brought in and pushed through alterations to the running of the club. A committee of seven would run affairs, with a proportion eligible for re-election every year. Every area of expenditure was examined, but Ayrton's new regime attracted bitter complaints and claims that the club was being run 'on the cheap'. Though the club had paid off some of its debts, the failure to invest in the team was heavily criticised. One correspondent in the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* accused the club of being 'penny wise and pound foolish'. The rugby on show was said to be the 'worst ever'.¹⁴⁴ The committee

¹⁴² *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1899.

¹⁴³ Collins, *Great Split*, p.176.

¹⁴⁴ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 17 Feb. 1900.

pointed to a balance of £361, a stark contrast to the £400 loss the previous season. However, despite the prudence, the club was still £501 in debt.

The following season was every bit as disappointing on the field. Even cup rugby could not tempt the crowds back to Valley Parade. A mere 1,000 turned up for the first round tie with Castleford. It was the lowest ever for a cup-tie at Valley Parade.¹⁴⁵ By contrast the 1901 semi-final of the Bradford Association Cup attracted a crowd of 3,000 to Valley Parade. Intriguingly, the Manningham members were admitted free of charge. Whether this was simply the members of the host club being afforded admission to the ground on which they were paying members or if it was an attempt to spread the football gospel is unknown.

Although Valley Parade was never fully utilised for the rugby cup semi-finals and finals that it had been optimistically redeveloped for, the ground's facilities were leased in May 1901 to host a touring show entitled 'Savage South Africa'. It was, what might be termed, a travelling history show with a similar format to the hugely popular Buffalo Bill's Wild West extravaganza. The description of the latter as 'living ethnographic extravaganza combining the educational and exotic with the spectacle of the circus and theatre' could as easily be applied to Savage South Africa or similar travelling shows criss-

¹⁴⁵ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 2 March 1901.

crossing Britain in the late Victorian era.¹⁴⁶ Three special trains brought the show to Bradford. Five hundred actors, 150 horses and 'well-trained elephants' re-enacted scenes from the Boer War and South African life. The *Bradford Daily Argus* was astonished to note the presence of 'real Boers and African darkies' among the cast. Over 20,000 saw the spectacle in the first seven days of a three-week run.¹⁴⁷ Although the additional income was welcome, it could not hide a trend of increasing debt. Manningham's annual meeting on 31 May 1901 heard that the club was £707 in debt. The club had actually made a £205 profit on the season, but the interest on the £1,100 mortgage had not been paid which had therefore increased the debt. The income was £1,870. Gates receipts were £1,260, with £275 rent from 'Savage South Africa' and £246 from memberships. Outgoings of £1,697 included £425 players' wages. It is notable that the Bradford derby alone accounted for £296 of the gate receipts.¹⁴⁸

The income from the annual Bradford derby was clearly essential to the club's financial viability. Therefore it was perhaps no surprise when Manningham's Harry Jowett denounced a proposed Northern Rugby League, which twelve top Yorkshire and Lancashire clubs had threatened to form as a breakaway

¹⁴⁶ Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna, the Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (University of Chicago Press, 2012).

¹⁴⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 6 May, 7 May 1901; *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 14 May 1901; Ben Shephard, *Kitty and the Prince* (Profile, 2003), pp.168-73.

¹⁴⁸ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1901.

league, as 'short sighted and selfish'.¹⁴⁹ Despite the opposition in the summer of 1901 the top teams broke away to form the Northern Rugby League.¹⁵⁰ Manningham was cast adrift in the Yorkshire Senior Competition. Bereft of matches against Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax there was little doubt that their financial position would only worsen. The *Bradford Observer* described the formation of the new league a 'weeding out process'.¹⁵¹ Among the weak cast aside was Manningham, in 1896 the proud champions of the Northern Union, just five years later they found themselves cut off from money spinning matches and facing a financial crisis. Although, what turned into, bitter rankling between the Northern Rugby League and the disenfranchised Yorkshire Senior Competition was resolved in 1902 when two divisions were introduced with promotion and relegation, the new format ultimately made Manningham's finances even more untenable. The increased travelling the second division brought with it was a particular burden and across the board attendances were disappointing. Financial losses were widespread: Bramley lost £158; Huddersfield £219; and Stockport was disbanded.¹⁵² The formation of the Northern Rugby League in 1901 could be

¹⁴⁹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 1 June 1901.

¹⁵⁰ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.23; Collins, *Great Split*, p.183; Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp.148-50.

¹⁵¹ *Bradford Observer*, 3 May 1901.

¹⁵² Trevor Delany, *Code 13*, No.9, Dec. 1988, p.25.

presented as one of the key moments that eventually led to Manningham's switch to football. Indeed, Arnold concluded that it was 'decisive'.¹⁵³

At Manningham's annual meeting of 1902 Alfred Ayrton announced that it was 'impossible to carry on good football unless there was a sufficiency of support from the public'. The club had made a loss of £202 6s 9d on the season. Gate receipts had halved and were down £588 on the previous campaign. Membership fell by 30%, losing the club £86.¹⁵⁴ A huge effort had been made to lower overheads; everything from travelling expenses to postage had been slashed which resulted in a saving of £241. The losses wiped out 40% of the club's accumulated surpluses. Secretary Sam Naylor said starkly 'if they [the finances] did not alter the club could not go on'. Despite the gloomy prognosis, in the summer of 1902 Manningham signed six new players in an attempt to gain promotion to the lucrative top division.¹⁵⁵

Throughout the period when Manningham's finances had faced its greatest difficulty the club had been developing close links with the local association football pioneers. Indeed, the Bradford & District League Champions Girlington had been allowed to play its home matches at Valley Parade

¹⁵³ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.23.

¹⁵⁴ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 23 May 1902; Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.23.

¹⁵⁵ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.23. Leeds lost £800 on building a team that gained them promotion to the top division. As a result membership rose from 650 to 2,275, which entirely recouped the £800 loss.

during the 1901-2 season. The decision to allow the ground share was a heated one as it meant disbanding the A team in order to make Valley Parade available on every other Saturday.¹⁵⁶ The fact that the A team lost £130 on the season may have been a factor, but with the growing popularity of football and the loss of the derby income, one wonders whether the club had one eye on the future? However, even as late as September 1902 the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* felt safe to muse:

There is little hope for a professional association team in Bradford, at least not for a considerable time. With regards to local association football the failing is that there is quantity but no quality.¹⁵⁷

vi The Cricket Leagues

It was not just football and rugby that felt the impact of league systems. Club cricket took inspiration from, and shared much of the culture of, rugby's Yorkshire Senior Competition. In chapter two the rapid growth of club cricket in the West Riding of Yorkshire during the last three decades of the nineteenth century illustrated the wide geographic spread and solid base from which the game was to develop in the 1890s. As will be demonstrated, from around 1893

¹⁵⁶ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 1 June 1901.

¹⁵⁷ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 15 Sept. 1902.

league cricket became an integral part of the sporting calendar in Bradford. It grew in parallel with rugby's leagues and the development of spectator sport would be incomplete without an examination of the growth of league cricket. Hill stated that league cricket in the north and midlands 'represented a quite distinctive cricket culture' and yet he went on to note that 'virtually nothing has been written on league cricket'.¹⁵⁸ Light backed Hill's criticism stating that league cricket had been 'largely ignored by both the sport's often celebrated array of writers and ... in the growing body of academic work on sport history'.¹⁵⁹ That is surprising given the notable parallels that exist between the establishment of league cricket and similar structures in football and rugby. This section hopes to illustrate those parallels and the importance of league cricket in the development of popular sporting leisure in Bradford.

As in rugby and football it was cup competitions that would prepare the ground for a move towards a system of leagues.¹⁶⁰ In Yorkshire the first cup competition appears to have been the Emsley Cup, which was inaugurated in Leeds in 1880. The large number of imitations in adjacent areas can be the

¹⁵⁸ Jeffery Hill, 'League Cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940', Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working class in Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp.121-2.

¹⁵⁹ Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, p.4; Roy Genders, *League Cricket in England* (Werner Laurie, 1952), pp11-12; Duncan Stone, 'Cricket's regional identities: the development of cricket and identity in Yorkshire and Surrey', *Sport in Society*, Vol. 11, No. 5, September 2008, p.505. Stone briefly touched on leagues.

¹⁶⁰ Brian Heywood, 'Ashes cricketers and the Lancashire League', *Sport in Society*, volume 15, issue 8, (2012), p.1138.

judge of its success: Craven Cricket Union, Halifax, Heavy Woollen (Batley), Hull, Lumb (Huddersfield), North and East Ridings, Wake (Sheffield), South Leeds and District, Wakefield and York.¹⁶¹ In the Bradford area two cups appeared in 1884: the Airedale Challenge Cup and the Josling Challenge Cup.¹⁶² Reports from the Josling Cup Final of 1884 suggest that competing clubs viewed the new cups seriously. In the final at Bowling, Church Hill United had set a challenging total of 108. When Sticker Lane United found themselves 30-5 in reply, they objected to an umpiring decision and refused to send the next batsman to the wicket. The match had to be abandoned and Church Hill was proclaimed the cup winners.¹⁶³ The Josling Cup appears to have lasted for a single year. However, the Airedale Challenge Cup continued until at least 1891 and may well have been the inspiration for the 1893 Airedale & Wharfedale League.

The trophies appear to have usually been donated by local worthies seeking to perhaps enhance their prestige and status among the local community. The provision of the Airedale Cup by the vicar of Calverley may have additionally

¹⁶¹ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.7; Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, p.64, Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p.54; *Leeds Mercury*, 12 Apr. 1890. Sandiford noted cups in Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire from the 1880s.

¹⁶² *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 1 Sept. 1885; *Airedale & Wharfedale Senior Cricket League, golden jubilee brochure* (Otley: Smith Settle, 1986); *Leeds Mercury*, 31 Aug. 1885. The Airedale Challenge Cup final of 1885 between Calverley and Dudley Hill refers to Calverley as the cup holders, which suggests that the competition commenced in at least 1884. Dudley Hill won the 1885 final.

¹⁶³ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 2 Sept., 1884.

been an example of encouragement of religious attendance. Davies and Light linked the frequent references to the value of the cups to the earlier stake matches in that the cost of the trophies demonstrated the importance of the competition.¹⁶⁴ Of course, the crucial difference was the honorary nature of receiving a cup as opposed to a cash prize. Winning clubs were often welcomed home in a triumphal procession in a manner identical to such celebrations in rugby and football.¹⁶⁵ The Airedale Challenge Cup was certainly popular with the £9 gate receipts from the 1886 final being donated to local charities and, what was reported as a 'tremendous gate', was attracted to the 1888 final. In 1891 half of the balance of the Airedale Challenge Cup, £15 7s 6d, was donated to the Leeds General Infirmary.¹⁶⁶ Davies and Light noted charitable donations were a feature of cup competitions.¹⁶⁷

Sandiford made the bold claim that gate-taking and hired professionals began with the Heavy Woollen Cup in 1883.¹⁶⁸ Clearly elements of both were already active within the game prior to 1883, but it is probable that the cup competitions gave them far sharper focus. Of course, before league cricket, or cup competitions, was established cricket had already reconciled

¹⁶⁴ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.74.

¹⁶⁵ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp.75-6.

¹⁶⁶ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 31 Aug. 1886; 14 Aug. 1888; *Leeds Mercury*, 2 May 1891.

¹⁶⁷ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp.74-5.

¹⁶⁸ Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p.55.

professionalism at county level, but, as Light pointed out, the 'strictly controlled conventions of the county championship' not only preceded the leagues, but were 'totally separate from them'.¹⁶⁹ The employment of professionals at club level was a long established fact. As early as 1874 the *Bradford Cricketers Journal* published a list of seven professionals employed by clubs in the Bradford district.¹⁷⁰ By the start of the 1880s even relatively modest clubs such as Church Hill was employing two professionals; in 1882 Lidget Green, 'which had only found a permanent home and a community identity a few years earlier', engaged its first professional for 2/6 per match.¹⁷¹ With professionalism so deeply engrained into the culture of West Riding club cricket it is no surprise that once the leagues were formed in the early 1890s the professionals were an integral part of them. The leagues did have limits and regulations on professionals, but in comparison to rugby football they were, according to Light, flexible and lightly enforced. Even the club captain could be a professional, one example being the professional Charlie Jowitt who led Lidget Green to the West Bradford League title in 1895.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Light, *The Face of English Cricket*, p.6.

¹⁷⁰ *Bradford Cricketers Journal*, May 2nd 1874, May 9th 1874; Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, pp.77-9. The professionals were: George Ullyett, E. Dawson, and Wm. Smith (Bradford); T.Armitage (Keighley); Samuel Dennison (Idle Lilywhite); George Hay (Manningham); R.G. Barlow (Saltaire).

¹⁷¹ Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, p.66.

¹⁷² Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, p.66, 73, 74.

Despite the spread of cup competitions frustration at the reported chaotic nature of the Birmingham and District Challenge Cup led to the formation of cricket's first league, the Birmingham and District League in November 1888.¹⁷³ It was hoped that the league would bring order and structure to local cricket. Among the objects of the league was an expectation that clubs would place the interests of the league in front of their own.¹⁷⁴ A combination of unified start times, independent umpires and league tables, giving a clear indication of the form and standing of clubs, saw the league hailed as a 'great success'.¹⁷⁵ Hill argued that the punctual start times were the key element that ensured that the league became popular and accessible because matches fitted around the work and domestic commitments of the population.¹⁷⁶ It is probably no coincidence that the geographic spread of the earliest cricket leagues in the midlands and Lancashire is almost identical to that of the Football League.¹⁷⁷ As was shown earlier, the Football League was established at the instigation of a Birmingham draper, Aston Villa's William MacGregor,

¹⁷³ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p. 73; Heywood, 'Ashes cricketers and the Lancashire League', p.1138. Davies & Light and Heywood reference a Bolton & District League also formed in 1888 that was probably second only to Birmingham.

¹⁷⁴ Alex E. David, *First in the Field, a history of the Birmingham & District Cricket League* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1988), pp.5-7.

¹⁷⁵ David, *First in the Field*, p.16.

¹⁷⁶ Hill, 'League Cricket', p.134.

¹⁷⁷ Jack Williams, *Cricket and England, a cultural and social history of the inter-war years* (Frank Cass, 1999), p.28; Heywood, 'Ashes Cricketers and the Lancashire League', p.1138. Football League clubs Accrington, Blackburn and Burnley shared grounds with Lancashire League cricket clubs.

and the first games took place in September 1888.¹⁷⁸ The immediate success of the Football League was claimed by Genders to have been the inspiration behind the formation of the Birmingham and District League.¹⁷⁹ Although that is almost certainly correct, it should not be forgotten that cricket had its own league system in the shape of the County Championship. Indeed, MacGregor said that the Football League was based on the county championship.¹⁸⁰ Sandiford argued that, despite its often-chaotic fixture list and the absurd manner in which the press crowned the champion county, the county championship was in essence cricket's first league.¹⁸¹

In the early 1890s cricket leagues appeared with remarkable rapidity. All across the north of England leagues appeared almost simultaneously: North East Lancashire League, South East Lancashire League (1890); Huddersfield & District League (1891); Lancashire League, Central Lancashire League, Ribblesdale League (1892); Central Yorkshire League (1893); North Yorkshire & South Durham League (1893); Halifax & District League (1894).¹⁸² The expansion was matched in the Bradford district with the following leagues

¹⁷⁸ Russell, *Football and the English*, pp.32-3.

¹⁷⁹ Genders, *League Cricket*, p.75.

¹⁸⁰ Taylor, *Association Game*, p.66.

¹⁸¹ Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp.59-60.

¹⁸² Heywood, 'Ashes cricketers and the Lancashire League', p.1139; John Kay, *Cricket in the Leagues* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970), p. 107, 117, 136, 151, 172; Alan West, *One Hundred Years of the Ribblesdale Cricket League*, (Preston: Carden Press, 1992), p.6; Wilkinson, ed., *Bradford League Cricket*, p.228, 265.

being formed: Airedale & Wharfedale (1893); Bradford District (1893); Keighley & District (1893); Low Moor & District (1895); West Bradford (1893); West Yorkshire (1893).¹⁸³ The new leagues appear to have been popular, 2,000 spectators were reported at a West Yorkshire League match between Bowling Old Lane and Bradford.¹⁸⁴ The *Bradford Daily Argus* also reported on relatively minor leagues such as the Labour Club League (1893). It was comprised of six clubs: East Bowling, East Ward, Girdlington, Lilycroft, Manningham and West Bowling. There was even a second team competition. The famous Manningham FC full back George Lorimer was reported to have scored twenty-five runs and took six wickets for twenty runs whilst representing Manningham Labour Club's second XI against North Ward – the latter appear not to have had a team in the first XI competition.¹⁸⁵ The Yorkshire Post Office League (1893) was even more modest, featuring just four clubs: Bradford, Leeds, Normanton and Wakefield.¹⁸⁶ The league season was a mere six games in length, although it was extended by one game when Bradford defeated Normanton in a play-off after both teams had finished level with four victories and two draws apiece.¹⁸⁷ Although neighbourhood cricket was becoming the dominant form, the latter league, and the Bradford & District

¹⁸³ Wilkinson, *Bradford League Cricket*, p.207, 320; Sullivan, *Airedale & Wharfedale*.

¹⁸⁴ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 15 July, 1893.

¹⁸⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 3 July 1893.

¹⁸⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 13 July 1892.

¹⁸⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 20 Sept. 1893.

Tradesmen's League (formed at Idle in September 1893), is a reminder that workplace cricket was still a significant part of club cricket.¹⁸⁸ While leagues were being rapidly formed it is notable that, what were termed, 'other matches' outnumbered league games. For example on one day in August 1893 twenty league matches were listed across Yorkshire in comparison to fifty-seven 'other matches'.¹⁸⁹

As can be seen from the previous paragraph, the year 1893 is a significant one when it comes to the formation of leagues. It is probably no coincidence that the majority of these leagues were formed from meetings held in late 1892, a few months after rugby's YSC had got underway. This pattern matches exactly the timescales of the beginning of the Football League in September 1888 and the Birmingham and District Cricket League being formed in November 1888. It was also replicated in Cardiff where the Cardiff and District Cricket Union, formed in 1888, took its inspiration from the Cardiff and District Football Challenge Cup that commenced in 1886. During 1887 letters appeared in the Cardiff press suggesting a similar competition for cricket. A local sports shop owner, who had also been the prime mover behind the rugby competition, organised the cricket union and sponsored a

¹⁸⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 18 Sept. 1893.

¹⁸⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 18 Aug. 1893.

cup competition.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, the Leicester Town Cricket League, founded in 1896, came in the wake of Leicester Fosse's election to the Football League.¹⁹¹

By 1895 Light identified twenty-three leagues in operation in the West Riding. He attributed this growth to the popularity of rugby 'which had an adverse impact on attendances at cricket matches'. Light argued that club cricket needed a competitive focus outside the cup competitions and this led to the formation of cricket leagues.¹⁹² It is likely that the formation of rugby's YSC in 1892 may have sharpened the minds of those administering club cricket, but given the differing seasons it is difficult to fully support the theory that rugby's popularity had a significant financial impact on club cricket. However, it may well have had a negative affect on perceptions of the attractiveness club cricket as a spectator sport and thereby giving momentum to the move towards league cricket.

In 1893 the West Riding League was formed with member clubs being notably made up of industrial towns: Barnsley, Bradford, Brighouse, Dewsbury,

¹⁹⁰ Andrew Hignell, 'Participants and Providers: A micro-scale analysis of cricket in Cardiff during the nineteenth-century', *Sport in Society*, Vol.15, No.2, March 2012, p.171; Heywood, 'Ashes cricketers and the Lancashire League', p.1138.

¹⁹¹ Crump. *Amusements of the People*, p.374, 380. However, it should be noted that there was already a cricket cup, in the shape of the Leicester Challenge Cup that had been in operation since 1880. The 1896 Leicester Town League spawned other leagues such as the 1898 Leicester & District Mutual Sunday Schools Cricket League.

¹⁹² Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, pp.71-2.

Halifax, Huddersfield, Keighley, Leeds and Sheffield United. The adoption of limited liability financial structures, franchised refreshment facilities and expansion of accommodation for spectators were identical to the commercial practices of football and rugby clubs.¹⁹³ Four of the ten founding cricket clubs of the West Riding League (Bradford, Dewsbury, Halifax and Huddersfield) were multi-sport organisations whose rugby sections had been founder members of the Yorkshire Senior Competition. Another three (Bingley, Keighley and Skipton) had close relationships with rugby clubs. When viewed in that context the fact that the West Riding League allowed professionalism to exist alongside broken time payments is unsurprising. The evidence strongly favours Light's statement that West Riding League could 'be seen as an attempt to form a regional popular commercial cricket competition along the lines of the Football League and eventually the Northern Rugby Football Union'.¹⁹⁴

By 1897 the West Riding League was claimed to be the leading league in Yorkshire.¹⁹⁵ However, only two years later the West Riding League folded. Light suggested that the West Riding League was too far removed from the highly localised clubs that had assumed a communal identity and could

¹⁹³ Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, pp.77-9.

¹⁹⁴ Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, pp.76-7.

¹⁹⁵ *Athletic News*, 19 Apr. 1897.

provide a high standard of play. As the leagues clustered around towns and cities thrived, the failure of the West Riding League may have been simply because, as Light theorised, there was 'no space for a popular regional competition to occupy between the ... first class game and these high-quality, competitive local leagues'.¹⁹⁶ However, the same year the Yorkshire Cricket Council was founded with the vision that the winning club would be crowned 'champion club of Yorkshire'. Stratton Holmes claimed that practically every first class team in the county were members with the notable exceptions of Huddersfield and Middlesbrough. In the first two seasons no 'champion' was announced, but in the 1903 season Bradford was declared the winners. The membership of the council was more geographically spread than its predecessor, but it is striking that eight of the teams listed are today members of the Bradford League. In 1903 the following clubs were members of the Yorkshire Council: Barnsley, Batley, Bowling Old Lane, Bradford, Brighouse, Castleford, Chickenley, Cleckheaton, Dewsbury, Elland, Halifax, Harrogate, Hull, Idle, Keighley, Leeds, Otley, Rotherham, Saltaire, Scarborough, Sheffield United, Wakefield, Yeadon, York.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Light, *The Face of English Cricket*, p.81; Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp.77-9.

¹⁹⁷ Stratton Holmes, *Yorkshire County Cricket*, pp.175-7. The clubs that are currently members of the Bradford League are: Bowling Old Lane, Bradford (as Bradford & Bingley), Brighouse, Cleckheaton, Idle, Keighley, Saltaire and Yeadon.

However, the late 1890s and early 1900s was a period of general instability in league cricket. So many leagues were formed it is likely that some were simply unsustainable or vulnerable to the whims of the clubs. A useful example is the early history of Woodlands United CC, thought to have been founded in 1894 by Walter Gill, landlord of the Woodlands Hotel.¹⁹⁸ A successful rugby team, Woodlands United, had been in existence since the 1880s, and it appears that the cricket club was closely associated with the rugby team.¹⁹⁹ This was a rare reversal of the usual case of cricket clubs being the basis for rugby and football clubs. The club was founder members of the Low Moor and District League (1895).²⁰⁰ The fact that a relatively small place such as Low Moor could form a league, albeit one comprised of only six teams, is quite remarkable. The population was 10,536 in 1901.²⁰¹ Perhaps it was too small as the league folded at the end of the century. Woodlands went on to play in a variety of leagues. In 1903 Woodlands was back in a reformed Low Moor and District League but in 1907 they joined the Bradford and District Sunday School League. To comply with league rules they changed their name to Woodlands United YMCA.²⁰² The following year the club

¹⁹⁸ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp.49-51.

¹⁹⁹ *Woodlands Cricket Club, Centenary Year, 1894-1994* (Bradford: Hart & Clough, 1994), pp. 11-13.

²⁰⁰ *Woodlands Cricket Club*, pp.13-15.

²⁰¹ James Parker, *Illustrated History of Wibsey, Low Moor, Oakenshaw, Wike, Norwood Green, Judy Brigg, Royd's Hall, Cooley and Shelf* (Bradford: Feather, 1902), p.48.

²⁰² *Woodlands Cricket Club*, pp.17-19.

moved to the Bradford and District Licensed Victuallers League and reverted to being Woodlands United.²⁰³ The secretary and treasurer resigned in protest at the move.²⁰⁴ In 1910 Woodlands joined Bradford and District League just as it was taken over by the Bradford League and became the league's second division. It was a period of major expansion for the Bradford League; in addition to adding a second division they attempted to, unsuccessfully, take over the Bradford Central League which was proposed to become the Bradford League's third division.²⁰⁵ However, the expansion plans were not successful and in 1912 the second division was scrapped. As a result Woodlands joined the Bradford and District Church of England League. Once again to comply with league rules they became Oakenshaw-cum-Woodlands Church CC. In 1919 they joined the Bradford Central League as Woodlands where they remained for the next seventy-five years.²⁰⁶

Religious involvement in cricket was, according to Davies and Light, driven by a hoped for reformation of working class leisure, the healthy body healthy mind concept promoted by rational recreationalists, as well as encouraging

²⁰³ *Woodlands Cricket Club*, p.21.

²⁰⁴ *Woodlands Cricket Club*, p.102.

²⁰⁵ *Woodlands Cricket Club*, p.23. The Bradford Central League was formed in September 1908 as a break away from the Bradford & District League due to allegations of increasing professionalism in the latter.

²⁰⁶ Wilkinson, *Bradford League*, pp.320-1.

attendance at the church or chapel.²⁰⁷ Woodlands' apparent ambivalence to religion could be presented as a failure of that theory. Woodlands was not unique. In Leicester the attitudes of the players of St. Paul's Church CC led to 'concern that sport was not sufficiently subservient to religion' and the club introduced a condition of membership that members of the junior cricket team had to attend Sunday morning service.²⁰⁸ The drift of Woodlands in and out of church based leagues, and the significant number of church and chapel based teams in the various leagues around Bradford, supports Jack Williams's deduction that the greatest concentration of church teams occurred at the lower levels of organised recreational cricket.²⁰⁹ However, such teams rarely penetrated the more prestigious leagues. The evidence in Bradford supports that theory. Of ten leagues operating around the city in 1902, four (Airedale & Whafedale; Bradford & District; Bradford Licensed Victuallers; West Bradford) had no obvious clubs affiliated to religious organisations. Interestingly, aside from the Licensed Victuallers, these were the most prestigious and competitive leagues. In the other six leagues, from a total of fifty-six clubs, twenty-nine were non-conformist and sixteen Church of England.²¹⁰ That is unusual as Williams's work shows that, in other towns

²⁰⁷ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, pp.44-8.

²⁰⁸ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.166.

²⁰⁹ Williams, 'Church, sport and identity', p.117.

²¹⁰ Appendix I, 'Bradford Cricket Leagues and Member Clubs 1902', has the full list of leagues and clubs.

across the north, Church of England teams 'usually outnumbered those from any other denomination'. One constant across the north was that Catholic cricket teams were 'comparatively rare'.²¹¹

Four years after the implosion of the West Riding League a league was formed that was to become one of the best, if not the best, in the country - the Bradford League. It had a strong base to build from. During 1902 the *Bradford Daily Argus* carried regular reports of thirteen leagues: Airedale & Wharfedale; Bradford & District; Bradford & District Alliance; Bradford & District Church of England; Bradford Licensed Victuallers; Bradford Local; Bradford Mutual Sunday School; Bradford Sunday Schools; Low Moor & District; Manningham & District; West Bradford; Wharfedale & Airedale; Yorkshire Council.²¹² The impetus for the formation of the Bradford League came from a core of clubs from the West Bradford League. Frustrated by, what they perceived as, poor crowds and the 'unfair allocation' of derby matches, they convened a meeting on 10 September 1902 where seven clubs from the West Bradford League (Allerton, Clayton, Great Horton, Lidget Green, Manningham Mills, Queensbury, Thornton), three from the Bradford & District League (Bankfoot, Dudley Hill, Shelf), and two from the Airedale & Wharfedale League (Eccleshill and Undercliffe) founded the Bradford

²¹¹ Williams, 'Church, sport and identity', p.130.

²¹² *Bradford Daily Argus*, 1 July, 12 July, 15 July, 18 July, 26 July, 1 Aug., 16 Aug. 1902. See appendix for composition of the leagues.

League.²¹³ The league began with those twelve clubs but by 1909 a second division was added.²¹⁴ Light summed up the success of the Bradford League:

The Bradford League competition was able to successfully encapsulate the advanced conception of professionalism, commercialism, spectatorship and competition that had been attempted in the West Riding League by transposing them into a local context and basing the competition within the vicinity of that city alone. As a result, the competition was able to take the league concept to a new level twelve years later by gaining national prominence and enjoying record crowds'.²¹⁵

Barker largely concurred with Light stating that the league had to be highly localised as the time between the ending of a Saturday morning at work and the commencement of a five hour cricket match meant that time spent travelling had to be kept to a minimum to make a league practical proposition. Therefore, it is probably no accident that seven of the twelve founding clubs were within a two miles radius of one another in south west

²¹³ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 11 Sept. 1902.

²¹⁴ Wilkinson, *Bradford League*, pp.11-16.

²¹⁵ Light, *The Face of English Cricket*, p.79; Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.79.

Bradford.²¹⁶ Arguably, Light overlooked one of the key elements of the success of the Bradford League, that of connectivity. The rapid expansion, and electrification, of the Bradford Corporation Tramway network between 1898 and 1902 facilitated rapid and cheap transportation to virtually every area of the city.²¹⁷ Schmucki argued that tramways represent ‘the emergence of a modern urban landscape that was increasingly mechanised and fast paced.’²¹⁸ Huggins and Tolson saw the tramways, in the large cities, as being far more important to the development of sport than the railways.²¹⁹ Kennedy noted the ability of tramways to facilitate exponential growth in football attendances in Liverpool.²²⁰ The move from horse tram, effectively a pre-industrial mode of transport, to the modern, fast and technologically advanced electric tramway saw ridership grow by ‘hundreds of thousands’ in some cities.²²¹ Schmucki claimed that electric tramways became an element of peoples ‘collective civic identity’ and ‘represented a municipality’s commitment to

²¹⁶ Tony Barker, *Cricket’s Wartime Sanctuary, the first-class flight to Bradford* (Cardiff: ACS, 2009), pp.36-7.

²¹⁷ D.M. Coates, *Bradford City Tramways 1882-1950* (Skipton: Wyvern, 1984), pp.16-18, 23; D.J. Croft, *Bradford Tramways* (Oakwood, 1976), pp.9-10.

²¹⁸ Barabra Schmucki, ‘The Machine in the City, public appropriation of the tramway in Britain and Germany, 1870-1915’, *Journal of Urban History*, 38(6), 2012, p.1060.

²¹⁹ Huggins and Tolson, ‘The Railways and Sport in Britain’, p.108.

²²⁰ David Kennedy, ‘Locality and Professional Football Club Development, the demographics of football club support in late Victorian Liverpool’, *Soccer & Society*, vol.5, No.3, autumn 2004, p.373.

²²¹ Schmucki, ‘Machine in the City’, p.1073.

technological progress'.²²² Thus the Bradford League, itself an aspirant element of civic identity, could become associated with modernity and identity by exploiting the connectivity and convenience offered by the expanded tramway system.

In April 1903, just four months before the Bradford League commenced, fares were reduced. Most were 1d with a maximum fare of 2d to any terminus.²²³ Of the twelve Bradford League clubs all but one were served by the tramway. The exception was Clayton on the western extremity of the city. However, the village was connected to the Great Northern Railway's line from Bradford Exchange to Halifax and Keighley.²²⁴ Additionally, the Lidget Green terminus of the Bradford tramway was only one mile from Clayton. Five of the Bradford League clubs enjoyed tramway and railway connections, the most notable being Eccleshill whose ground was immediately adjacent to a railway station and a tramway stop. The theory that tramway links were central to the development of the Bradford League is given further credence by the fact that Saltaire and Windhill joined the league in 1905 following the absorption of the Mid-Yorkshire Tramways system that ran near both their grounds into the

²²² Schmuki, 'Machine in the City', p.1075.

²²³ Croft, *Bradford Tramways*, p.27.

²²⁴ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.226. Meller described the Great Western Railway as the 'backbone' of cricket leagues in the south and south west.

Bradford system.²²⁵ In 1912, a couple of years after the opening of the Pudsey tramway and the joining of the Bradford and Leeds systems, there was an influx of clubs into the league from east of the city: Farsley, Laisterdyke, Pudsey Britannia, Pudsey St. Lawrence and Stanningley & Farsley.²²⁶ The additional revenue the tramway company might have gained from the Bradford Cricket League is another of Vamplew's 'as yet unmeasured economic spin offs' from commercialised sport.²²⁷

In football and rugby the establishment of leagues and elements of professionalism had caused conflict. However, as Hill noted, this was largely avoided, as the cricket leagues seemed to accept their position in the cricketing hierarchy.²²⁸ While Sandiford echoed that sentiment, he noted the financial advantage clubs could gain from their relationship with county cricket. For example a professional, who was absent from his club because of county commitments, 'was an immeasurably bigger attraction on his return'.²²⁹ The leagues did pose a challenge to county cricket in that they offered alternative employment for players. As a result counties had to increase the maximum wage, offer winter pay and expand fixture lists in

²²⁵ Coates, *Bradford City Tramways*, pp.20-4.

²²⁶ Barker, *Cricket's Wartime Sanctuary*, p.37; Coates, *Bradford City Tramways*, pp.27-8.

²²⁷ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.55.

²²⁸ Hill, 'League Cricket', p.136; Genders, *League Cricket*, p.118. For example, the Bradford League took great pride in being a conveyor belt of talent for the county side.

²²⁹ Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p.62.

order to avoid their professionals being tempted by the leagues and their 'busy agents'.²³⁰ Although just outside the period covered by this thesis, the 1913 Priestley Cup Final was watched by 13,000 spectators and in 1919 more people watched Bradford League matches (265,770) than Yorkshire CCC.²³¹ Given those numbers Vamplew was incorrect to state that 'the spectator issue probably affected only Lancashire.'²³² However, the impact of league cricket on Yorkshire CCC is an area that would benefit from further research.

The popularity of the Bradford League supports Hill's assertion that it was as a spectator sport that 'league cricket made its strongest contribution to working-class life'.²³³ However, Hill cautioned that although it was unlikely that league cricket 'occupied as all-consuming a place in working-class life as football ... it was more accessible than county cricket'.²³⁴ Writing about Leicester, Crump concurred stating that club matches staged in Victoria Park were 'more vital role in the popular culture of the town than ... the county

²³⁰ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.122.

²³¹ Barker, *Cricket's Wartime Sanctuary*, p.38. The Priestley Cup is the Bradford League's annual knock-out cup competition. The 1913 final generated gate receipts of £157 2s 6d.

²³² Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.124.

²³³ Hill, 'League Cricket', p.130; Williams, *Cricket and England*, p.60. The drawn 1918 Priestley Cup Final between Saltaire and Bankfoot at Park Avenue attracted 13,320 spectators. A crowd of 10,069 watched the replay at Bowling Old Lane. The 1921 Priestley Cup Final between Keighley and Saltaire saw a world record crowd for a league cricket match of 14,179 pack Park Avenue.

²³⁴ Hill, 'League Cricket', p.137.

club'.²³⁵ Heywood added further weight to the argument stating that league cricket clubs had more in common with rugby and football teams as they were 'accessible and rooted in their communities'.²³⁶ The league and cup competitions provided 'rationalised competition through which the traditional expression of rivalry and identity was successfully translated into modern industrial society'.²³⁷ Vamplew suggested that league cricket, with its geographical parallels with the early Football League, and its Saturday afternoon scheduling, catered for the 'summer spectating pleasure of the football supporter'.²³⁸ Of course, this can also be applied to the rugby supporters of West Yorkshire. The enduring popularity of the Bradford League is partly reflective of the survival of highly localised identities in the villages and townships that were engulfed by Bradford's rapid expansion. However, it has to be recognised that communities around clubs such as Saltaire and Bowling Old Lane were relatively new. The theme of sport and localised identity will be returned to in chapter five when the proposed merger of Bradford City AFC and Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC will be discussed.

Conclusion

²³⁵ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.374.

²³⁶ Heywood, 'Ashes cricketers and the Lancashire League', p.1138.

²³⁷ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.80.

²³⁸ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.91.

In the previous chapter the Yorkshire Cup was defined as the link between the past and present. It introduced commercialism and elements of professionalism into rugby. It could be further argued that the establishment of leagues introduced full meritocracy to the rugby season. This, of course, may have been a reflection of societal changes such as the extension of the franchise and rise of trade unionism. It is contended that the leagues marked the end of, what might be termed, the classic period of rugby and that the YSC was the start of a narrative that leads to a recognisably modern sporting landscape.

The transformational nature of the YSC is worthy of further comment. The success of a cup competition leaving clubs with growing overheads caused by the development of large capacity grounds, the need to attract and retain playing talent required for progression in a cup competition is a transferrable narrative between the formation of the Football League, Scottish Football League and the YSC. Cup competitions by their very nature could not offer predictable income streams required by increasingly commercially and professionally run clubs. A fixed schedule of matches in a meaningful league format offered both predictable and increased income. As Collins noted the YSC took its inspiration directly from the Football League. Russell and Taylor's work on the origins and early success of the Football League has

been shown in this section to have direct parallels with the YSC.²³⁹ The challenge the YSC, as a cartel of clubs operating semi-independently, represented to the authority of the Yorkshire Rugby Union and the Rugby Football Union is mirrored by Crampsey's description of debates between the Scottish Football Association and Scottish Football League about the retention of amateurism and deference to the higher authority.²⁴⁰

It has been contended in this chapter that the formation of the YSC in 1893 was as significant a moment in the development of modern rugby as the iconic great split of rugby two years later. The YSC had introduced a sporting calendar with regularised home and away fixtures, interspersed by cup-ties, that remains in place to this day. The YSC also represented a shift in the balance of power away from the county and national authorities towards the clubs. The regular five figure crowds attracted to the best YSC fixtures helped further intensify rivalries, reinforce sporting, and communal, identities and tempt clubs to become ever more professional, on and off the field of play, as competition intensified between the member clubs.

The pressures the league system brought to bear was reflected in a pressing requirement for clubs to attract and retain playing talent. As direct payments

²³⁹ Russell, *Football and the English*, pp.31-2; Taylor, *Association Game*, pp.65-6; Taylor, *The Leaguers*, p.4.

²⁴⁰ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, pp.10-14.

to players was debarred by the RFU clubs had to find creative ways to circumvent increasingly stringent anti-professionalism regulations. One, the appointment of players as publicans, offers another parallel with the football cultures of Lancashire and Scotland. Once again it illustrates that the rugby culture of Yorkshire was not insulated from the cultural, commercial and social developments in other sports and areas of the country, particularly the adjacent county of Lancashire. It is an important point and is a further addition to the evidence presented earlier of the trans-Pennine culture of pedestrianism. The Pennine hills were clearly not a barrier to the exchange of ideas, something that is arguably often overlooked by, in particular, single sport historians who have assumed that because Lancashire and Yorkshire adopted differing codes of football then it followed that a separate sporting culture existed. It should also be borne in mind that the two codes of football still had much in common even at this stage of their respective development. The evidence illustrated in this thesis suggests that there was a significant sharing of commercial and professional values that must represent some element of cross-pollination between Lancashire and Yorkshire.

The formation of the YSC exacerbated existing tensions and, unlike cricket and football that resolved working class participation, rugby found itself on the brink of a geographical division which was to have a fundamental impact on not only the future of rugby, but many other sports, in particular its winter

competitor football. The evidence presented in this chapter further strengthens the conclusions of Collins, Dunning & Sheard, Richards and Russell that the political climate of the 1890s prevented a football style compromise.²⁴¹ Additionally, by 1895 amateurism had retreated from virtually every other meaningful team sport and thus rugby could be portrayed as the last bastion of amateurism. It is easy to label the formation of the Northern Union as a 'break-away', but the evidence strongly suggests, and this is a theory championed by Collins, that the northern clubs were forced out of the Rugby Union game largely due to the intransigence of the RFU. This chapter supports that theory, but recognises that the fact that many northern clubs were reliant on profits at the gate in order to repay the overheads of large capacity grounds and as such a compromise by the RFU in 1895 may have merely represented a ceasefire. Indeed, such was the advance of football, admittedly greatly aided by rugby's split, that it is probable that the financial pressures felt by clubs in the north may have grown more acute with every passing season. Perhaps the RFU's intransigence was a recognition of the realities facing the northern clubs and that a split was perhaps inevitable given the unwillingness of either side to compromise.

²⁴¹ Collins, *English Rugby Union*, p.30; Dunning & Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, pp.175-200; Richards, *Game for Hooligans*, p.76; Russell, *Football and the English*, p.28.

The formation of the Northern Union came when Manningham had the strongest side in the club's history. In 1896 they became the new code's first champions and that success encouraged the club to spend £400 redeveloping their Valley Parade ground. However, a combination of a loss of form and success of the neighbouring Bradford side saw Manningham posting financial losses as early as 1898. By 1901 the income from the derby matches with Bradford was the difference between profit and loss. Thus when Manningham found themselves cast adrift in a second tier following the formation of the Northern Rugby Union by the top gate taking clubs, including Bradford, the loss of matches against Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield resulted in a halving of gate receipts and a 30% fall in membership. The financial travails Manningham faced, in the wake of the formation of the Northern Rugby League in 1901, was not unique; across Yorkshire and Lancashire several clubs faced extinction. The desire of the elite teams to maximise their income had undoubtedly been placed before the greater good of the game. Promotion was essential if there was to be any long-term financial stability for second tier clubs such as Manningham. It was inevitable that clubs would gamble everything in order to gain a place among the elite - the modern day parallels are obvious.

Ultimately, the affair illustrated the inherent weakness in the Northern Union. Although the precarious nature of sports clubs generally has to be

acknowledged, the Northern Union had specific weaknesses, the most serious being its geographical constraints, this became almost terminal in a society that was rapidly centralising. The structural weaknesses imposed on the Northern Union by the manner of its birth mean that it was unable to build a sustainable financial structure. It left the game trailing in the wake of football whose national spread allowed it to create a relatively, in sporting terms, stable business model.²⁴² Football was able to effectively exploit the emergence of the industrial working class, a nationalising culture and a mass circulation press. Indeed, as Collins stated 'nowhere was this growth of a nationwide culture more apparent than in the unprecedented rise of soccer, spurred by its national FA Cup and Football League competitions'.²⁴³ As football expanded, some of the clubs weakened and disenfranchised by the actions of the Northern Union must have gazed enviously at football's profile and prosperity. The conditions were perfect for an expansionist Football League to make inroads into the previously rugby dominated West Riding of Yorkshire. As the following chapter will seek to illustrate, there would prove to be no shortage of Northern Union clubs who would be willing to switch codes and play on a national stage and in the profitable world of professional football.

²⁴² Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society*, p.52.

²⁴³ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.154-5; Russell, *Football and the English*, p.30; Wray Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.63.

If the Northern Union was enduring serious challenges, the situation facing Rugby Union in the wake of the split was even more severe. However, although Collins suggested that the Rugby Union game collapsed in Yorkshire in the wake of the 1895 split, the evidence presented in this chapter illustrates that outside the gate-taking clubs the abandonment of Rugby Union was a gradual process.²⁴⁴ Indeed, in 1898 at least seventy-one clubs were still playing the union code in Bradford in comparison to only two Northern Union clubs. Perhaps tellingly fifty-one football clubs were in operation and this suggests that Bradford was not so much witnessing a shift from Rugby Union to the Northern Union, but to football.

The many parallels between the development of leagues in football and rugby has been addressed in this chapter. A similar impact of club cricket and the establishment of cricket leagues is an under researched aspect of sport history and hopefully the examples given of leagues around Bradford is a valuable addition to the discipline. The emergence of cricket leagues in Bradford from 1893 has been shown to be linked to the establishment of the YSC. This reflects the formation of cricket leagues in the midlands and Lancashire in the wake of the Football League. Thus a pattern of development emerges that matches that found in Birmingham by Genders, Cardiff by Highnell,

²⁴⁴ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, pp.161-2.

Lancashire by Davis & Light and Heywood and in Leicester by Crump.²⁴⁵

Furthermore, the parallels with football and rugby are reinforced by the fact that cup competitions often preceded leagues and that seven of the ten founding clubs of the West Riding Cricket League had close relationships with YSC rugby clubs.

League cricket found its zenith in the formation of the Bradford Cricket League in 1903. Here the spread and popularity of the league is intimately tied up with the spread of the Bradford Corporation Tramway system. Indeed, it also ran parallel with the expansion of the boundaries of the city of Bradford itself and could be therefore be presented as the physical sporting representation of the newly expanded conurbation as the city, the tramways and the cricket league embraced new communities brought into Bradford's orbit. Later expansions of the tramways were matched once again by an enlargement of the cricket league thus adding further weight to the theory. The evidence offered regarding the Bradford Cricket League's popularity supports Crump, Hill, Heywood and Vamplew's assertions that league cricket in the north and midlands impacted on working-class culture in a manner

²⁴⁵ Genders, *League Cricket*, p.75; Highnell, 'Participants and Providers', p.171; Davis & Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.73; Heywood, 'Ashes Cricketers', p.1139; Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.174.

similar to football and rugby in terms of identity and rivalries in a way that county cricket never could.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶ Crump, *Amusements of the People*, p.374; Hill, 'League Cricket', p.131; Heywood, 'Ashes Cricketers', p.1138; Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.91.

Chapter Five

Schoolboys and professionals

Football and the worstedopolis, 1895-1903

As rugby underwent, what amounted to, a civil war during the 1890s, football began to steadily undermine the oval ball game in Bradford. By the early 1900s football replaced rugby as the most popular sport for both participants and spectators. It was a quite notable shift of sporting allegiances. Perhaps even more notable was the fact that, in the case of Manningham's metamorphosis into Bradford City AFC in 1903, an entire organisation successfully switched sports with little change at boardroom level or among the popular support. It will be argued that it demonstrated a high level of club loyalty and identity that was more important than the sport the club was playing. That may be reflective of weakened ties to a particular sport given the centrality of Manningham to rugby's great split when the club both rejected, and was rejected by, the Rugby Football Union.

The relationship between Northern Union clubs and football is central to this chapter. During the 1890s Northern Union clubs appear to have been content to either run football sections or allow their grounds to be used to stage football cup matches of both a local and national scale. Dunning and Sheard saw this as profiteering or social control, whereas Arnold concluded it was a

means of supplementing income.¹ Both theories will be tested against events in Bradford. The multi-sport nature of many of the Northern Union clubs that ran football sections will be noted and the question will be posed as to whether the adoption of football was simply a natural extension of members' interests as opposed to a portent of football's eventual eclipse of rugby.

It will be proposed that, despite being a rugby dominated area, Bradford was not immune from the increasingly national game of football. The continued influx of workers into the city from all corners of Britain was partially responsible for the spread of football's popularity, as will be shown by the birthplaces and former clubs of some of the participants in 1890s Bradford football. Kerrigan claimed that in Birmingham and London it was in the schools where football made its breakthrough as a popular participatory sport and it was this that helped lay the foundations for professional football.² Mason, Russell, Taylor and Walvin are others that have arrived at a similar conclusion to Kerrigan's assertion regarding the centrality of schools to the spread of football.³ School log books, contemporary newspapers report and

¹ Dunning & Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, p.219; Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p. 32.

² Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*.

³ Mason, *Association Football*, pp.83-6; Dave Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious, the emergence of rugby and soccer zones in Yorkshire and Lancashire, c.1860-1914', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.5, No.2, (September 1988), pp.199-200; Taylor, *Association Game*, p.80; James Walvin, *The People's Game, the history of football revisited* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), p.62.

histories will be utilised to deduce whether a similar pattern occurred in Bradford and, if so, what was behind the rise of schools football in the city.

Alongside the schools football, the influence of Bradford's Saturday evening *Yorkshire Sports* newspaper was identified by Russell as a major factor in the establishment of professional football in the city.⁴ That theory will be pondered alongside the role played by the Manchester based *Athletic News*. It will be argued that, as the latter was effectively the house publication of the Football League, its increasingly pro-Bradford stance was, at the very least, well informed and was potentially official backing for the bid to establish a professional football club in Bradford. Whether this was part of an expansionist policy of the Football League into the heartland of the Northern Union, a possibility raised by Inglis and Russell, will be considered.⁵ As will Taylor and Vamplew's more conservative conclusions that the spread of the Football League was more *ad hoc* and partially based on potential increases in gate money offered by towns with large populations and as such offer an alternative explanation as to the events surrounding Bradford City AFC's election into the Football League in 1903.⁶ Once that has been established, the motives behind the Manningham members' decision to abandon the Northern

⁴ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.36.

⁵ Simon Inglis, *League Football and the Men Who Made It* (Willow, 1988), p.56; Russell, *Football and the English*, p.36.

⁶ Matthew Taylor, *The Leaguers, the making of professional football in England, 1900-1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), p.28; Vamplew, *Pay Up*, p.5.

Union in favour of the Football League will be explored. This will build on Arnold's largely financial examination of the situation.⁷ Finally, and perhaps crucially, Manningham's relationship, and rivalry with, Bradford Northern Union Club will be looked at against the backdrop of a declining Northern Union game and the adoption of professional football in Leeds. That will set the scene for the following, and concluding, chapter.

i Bradford Granted City Status

At the end of the nineteenth century Bradford entered what might be described as its modern age. The structures that were put in place during the late 1890s and early 1900s are largely intact in the twenty-first century. That is also true as regards the sporting landscape. An overview of the civic developments gives a context to the dramatic decisions taken in the board rooms of Manningham FC and Bradford FC during the early years of the new century. Although unemployment remained a blight and, in some areas, overcrowding and early mortality rates still prevailed, as the century approached its end Bradford was clearly becoming a modern and increasingly democratic community.⁸ The granting of city status in 1897 heralded an

⁷ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, pp.21-7.

⁸ Keith Laybourn, 'The Defence of the Bottom Dog, the Independent Labour Party in local politics', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowitt, eds., *Victorian Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Metropolitan Council, 1982), p.240.

expansion of the new city's boundaries with the incorporation of Allerton, Eccleshill, Heaton, Idle, North Bierley, Thornton, Tong, Tyersal and Wyke. Gas and electricity came under municipal control. Even death was municipalised when a public cemetery opened at Scholemoor. Bradford became the first place in Britain to provide school dinners to pupils.⁹ The water supply, essential for both the thirsty textile mills and an expanded municipal population, was secured with the construction of large reservoirs in Nidderdale.¹⁰ The tramway system reached to, and beyond, the city boundaries bringing many new communities into Bradford's orbit.¹¹ As was noted in the previous chapter the tramways were crucial for facilitating both mass spectator sport and local leagues.

Around 1900 the construction of back-to-back houses was banned and, what Fieldhouse described as, better class terrace houses were being built across the city.¹² The ILP councillor Fred Jowett led moves to clear the Goit Side slum area and replace it with the city's first council houses at the adjacent Longlands. It was completed after a three-year battle against vested interests and Tory councillors.¹³ Bradford moved into the Edwardian era as an

⁹ Laybourn, 'Defence of the Bottom Dog', pp.237-9.

¹⁰ Gary Firth, *A History of Bradford* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997), pp.105-13.

¹¹ Coates, *Bradford City Tramways*, p.36.

¹² Fieldhouse, *Bradford*, p.179.

¹³ James, *Bradford*, pp.114-16; Laybourn, 'Defence of the Bottom Dog', pp.235-7.

increasingly progressive city. Although the population grew by 5.3% from 265,728 in 1891 to 279,767 in 1901, largely due to the boundary extensions, a larger proportion of the population had been born, or had at least settled permanently, in the city and this was arguably reflected a growing sense of place that partly expressed itself via support and loyalty towards a sporting club that was representative of the wider community. Indeed, Hobsbawm argued that sport aided the creation social cohesion and planted the seed of civic identity in the new industrial conurbations of Victorian Britain.¹⁴ Writing of national identity, he stated 'the imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven people'.¹⁵ Russell distilled that idea down to a regional level and this thesis localises the theory even further.¹⁶ As Mason identified football, of either code, contributed and benefitted from a growing sense of place.¹⁷ Clearly, the clubs based at Park Avenue and Valley Parade became sporting institutions and helped create, and sustain, a sense of identity in what was essentially a new city. To what extent they shaped social order is less certain. Collective team sports were reflective of working-class life. Players working together to achieve success on the sporting field would have surely resonated with workers employed within the factory system. Supporting the local club was a way of becoming part of a community and

¹⁴ Hobsbawm, 'Mass Producing Traditions', p.298.

¹⁵ Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism*, p.143.

¹⁶ Russell, *Looking North*, p.236.

¹⁷ Mason, *Association Football*, p.234.

expressing a new identity. The clubs offered a collective identity and a sense of place.¹⁸ Undoubtedly, Bradford's two main sporting clubs managed to evoke a great sense of loyalty and localised pride. In a city where, until at least the twentieth century, a significant percentage of the population had been born elsewhere it might be viewed as remarkable. However, it was not a unique achievement and, as Tranter and Beaven have demonstrated in South Wales and Coventry, it was reflected in other industrial communities.¹⁹

ii Football Missionaries

Although the advance of football in Bradford in the early years of the twentieth century would be rapid, as Holt and Russell have argued, football could draw on many continuities as it sought to establish itself: the folk, or street, football heritage; rivalries produced when streets, communities and towns were pitted against one another in sports such as club cricket; strong commercial and cultural parallels with rugby.²⁰ Additionally, during the 1860s and 1870s several West Riding rugby clubs played association football, or variants of it, in their formative years. Delaney listed Bradford, Halifax,

¹⁸ Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp.267-8.

¹⁹ Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.55; Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-class men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p.79.

²⁰ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British, a modern history* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), pp.159-79; Russell, *Football and the English*, p.17.

Heckmondwike, Keighley, Leeds Athletic Club and Wakefield Trinity as examples. Delaney also found evidence of exhibition games of association football at Holbeck (1877), Hunslet (1880) and Dewsbury (1883). Undoubtedly, the most significant exposure to association football came when Huddersfield hosted the 1882 FA Cup semi-final between Blackburn Rovers and Sheffield Wednesday at their Fartown ground.²¹ Thus, like rugby before it, football was not an alien game thrust upon an ignorant public, it arrived into an environment where the ingredients existed for it to thrive.

The seemingly iron grip rugby had on Bradford is illustrated by the fact that, outside the four divisions of the Yorkshire Senior Competition, at least 120 rugby teams were reported to be playing matches in Bradford throughout the months of November and December 1894.²² The vast majority played ordinary matches with less than thirty of those clubs taking an active part in minor league competitions. The scale of Bradford's rugby culture can be gained by comparing the number of active clubs with the association football clubs of 1893 Liverpool. Kennedy claims there were 213 football clubs active in Liverpool in that year. However, Liverpool's population in 1891 was 617,032, whereas Bradford's stood at 216,361.²³ That equates to one football

²¹ Trevor Delaney, *The Impact of Association Football on the Northern Union in the Present West Yorkshire circa 1895-1908, part one when rugby was the people's game* Code 13, pp.12-13.

²² See the appendix for a full listing of the teams.

²³ Kennedy, 'Special Issue', p.482.

club for every 2,897 people in Liverpool and one rugby club for every 1,803 people in Bradford. The sheer scale of rugby in Bradford is a reminder that in the wake of rugby's great split, not only did the Rugby Union lose the high profile gate-taking clubs such as Bradford and Manningham, the game also lost its grass roots and thousands of players. By the turn of the century Rugby Union had virtually ceased to exist in West Yorkshire. By 1897 there was not a single club in Halifax. The Bradford and Huddersfield District Rugby Unions disaffiliated themselves from the Yorkshire Rugby Union. In Leeds it was reported that 'Rugby Union football is practically non-existent'.²⁴ Delaney even claimed that the Yorkshire Rugby Union declined to a mere seven clubs one stage.²⁵

Initially football did not seem placed to be able to take advantage of rugby's travails. The West Yorkshire Association League, founded in February 1894, had a mere six clubs in its ranks.²⁶ However, by 1904 the West Yorkshire Association had 436 clubs affiliated to it, Bradford accounted for a quarter of the total with 110 clubs, Leeds had eighty-six, Huddersfield thirty-seven, Halifax forty-two, Harrogate nine and the Heavy Woollen District forty-seven.²⁷ If the number of teams playing is any indication it was not the

²⁴ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, pp.161-2.

²⁵ Delaney, 'Impact of Association', p.7.

²⁶ Trevor Delany, *Code 13*, No.8, Sept. 1988, p.6.

²⁷ Trevor Delany, *Code 13*, No.9, Dec. 1988, p.26.

Northern Union that benefitted from the intransience of the Rugby Union, it was football. It could convincingly be argued that the sportsmen, and children, of Bradford turned their collective backs on not just Rugby Union, but rugby as a whole.

The first recorded locally based team emerged in September 1888 at Thornbury.²⁸ However, after a solitary season the club disappeared. The first sustained attempt to establish football in the city came with the formation of Bradford AFC in August 1895. The club became the association football section the Park Avenue-based Bradford Cricket, Athletic & Football Club – the football club in the title referring to the famous rugby club. Initially the players of Buckstone Park AFC were recruited en masse to form Bradford AFC.²⁹ However, some of the Bradford AFC players were said to be ‘workmen whose trades had called them from Scotland, Lancashire and the midlands to work in Bradford’.³⁰ It is another piece of evidence that Bradford was not insulated from the national influence of football. That theory is reinforced by comments in the *Bradford Observer* that, many among the 3,000 crowd to

²⁸ Rob Grillo, *100 Years on, the first Bradford City, the early years of Bradford (Park Avenue) and other stories* (Manchester: Parrs Wood Press, 2001), p.13.

²⁹ Williams, *Code War*, p.135; Grillo, *100 Years*, p.13.

³⁰ Frost, *Bradford City*, p.9.

witness Bradford's first home game against Moss Side of Manchester on 14 September 1895, 'evidently understood the association rules'.³¹

In their inaugural season Bradford AFC won the West Yorkshire League title, the Leeds Hospital Cup, and played in front of attendances ranging between 2,000 and 3,000.³² Football had to make way at Park Avenue when the ground was required for rugby matches and occasionally Bradford AFC found itself playing at Apperley Bridge, Gillingham and even once at Valley Parade.³³ For the 1897-8 season Bradford AFC joined the Yorkshire League which was dominated by second XIs of South Yorkshire clubs. Bradford lost twelve of their eighteen games and conceded seventy-seven goals. Unsurprisingly, such poor form resulted in a drop in attendances. Grillo noted that the highest crowd of the season was 2,000 when Barnsley visited Park Avenue.³⁴ The early momentum of the club appears to have been lost when the football club was relocated, for the 1898-9 season, to the Birch Lane ground in West Bowling.³⁵ Attendances declined to around the 500 mark. Gate money amounted to just £44 for the season.³⁶ That, allied to disinterest, possibly even hostility, from

³¹ *Bradford Observer*, 16 Sept.1895; Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.31.

³² Grillo, *100 Years*, pp.12-19.

³³ Grillo, *100 Years*, p.14.

³⁴ Grillo, *100 Years*, pp.22-4.

³⁵ Grillo, *100 Years*, p.24.

³⁶ Trevor Delaney, 'The Great Betrayal at Park Avenue, Bradford, a three way split of the north's oldest rugby clubs' Code 13, p.2.

the dominant rugby section and financial losses, totalling £407 since 1895, resulted in Bradford's pioneering football club being disbanded in 1899.³⁷

Batley, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield and Leeds were among Northern Union clubs who experimented with football sections.³⁸ Huddersfield hosted the 1882 FA Cup semi-final between Blackburn Rovers and Sheffield Wednesday and, on a more localised level, Halifax, and later Manningham, staged local cup finals. Arnold believed he detected a pattern of football being used to supplement income rather than the game, at this stage of development at least, being competition for rugby.³⁹ Dunning and Sheard offered a different interpretation:

Some of the men who ran the Northern Union clubs showed that they were more interested in profit and/or social control than the game itself by hiring out their grounds to association clubs.⁴⁰

It seems to be a fairly unsubtle attempt to dismiss the owners of northern rugby clubs of being merely profiteers and reinforces the authors' support for the ideals of amateurism. Their argument ignores the multi-layered nature of

³⁷ Delaney, 'Great Betrayal', p.2.

³⁸ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.35.

³⁹ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.32.

⁴⁰ Dunning & Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, p.219.

many clubs and individuals. As has been shown the prestigious Bradford Rugby Club was one arm of the Bradford Cricket, Athletic and Football Club. Tony Fattorini at Manningham Rugby Club had athletic interests with the Airedale Harriers and was Manningham AFC's representative on the West Yorkshire Football Association. J. William Hirst combined the roles of secretary of the Yorkshire Rugby Union, joint-secretary of Huddersfield's rugby and football sections, president of the West Yorkshire Association and a representative of the Amateur Athletics Association.⁴¹ Surely these maligned northerners were lovers of sport as opposed to a single sport?

Although rugby's dalliance with football could be interpreted as either profiteering, with the clubs attempting to cash in on the football boom, or an exercise in control, whereby having a football section ensured that it would remain the junior partner to the rugby section, there is a danger of reading too much into the experiment. It could have merely been a natural expansion into an emerging sport that was enjoyed by the club's members. Lest we forget Bradford's rugby team was one part of the umbrella organisation Bradford Cricket, Athletic and Football Club.

⁴¹ Trevor Delany, *Code 13*, No.9, Dec. 1988, p.21; Taylor, *Leaguers*, pp.58-61. Taylor offers a debate on the motivations of Football League committee members that offers some parallels.

Of the theories offered by Dunning and Sheard and Arnold the latter is the most convincing, especially in light of the fact that the football experiment at Park Avenue convinced Bradford FC's secretary Fred Lister, later president of the Northern Union, that the two codes could co-exist. His fellow committee member Isaac Brogden was an attendee of the formation meeting of the Bradford District Football Association (BDFA) in March 1899.⁴² Within six months the BDFA had thirty clubs affiliated to it.⁴³ Ironically, it appears that the disbandment of Bradford AFC gave local football a timely boost. As a *Bradford Daily Telegraph* article noted, at the end of the 1899-1900 season several clubs were short of players. However, the distribution of the players of Bradford AFC, and Bowling AFC, which folded at the same time, around various local clubs, gave football in Bradford a new lease of life.⁴⁴ One club that benefited from Bradford's and Bowling's demise was Girlington. The club took on many of the released players and, featuring what could have been semi-professional players in the shape of Fletcher (formerly of Scarborough) and Geordie Hubbert (Glasgow Rangers), Girlington twice won the Bradford & District League in 1900 and 1901.⁴⁵ Writing a retrospective piece in 1908, the *Bradford Daily Argus* reporter 'Preceptor', gave further

⁴² Ronnie Wharton, *The Best of Bradford Amateur Football* (Pudsey: Allanwood, 1987), p.5.

⁴³ Trevor Delany, *Code 13*, No.9, Dec. 1988, pp.21-2.

⁴⁴ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 28 Apr. 1901.

⁴⁵ Frost, *Bradford City*, p.11. Also playing in the Bradford & District League during the 1899-1900 season was Menston's former Celtic player Bill Gilroy.

weight to the theory that the disbandment of Bradford AFC, and distribution of the club's players, was the factor that 'really stimulated the game and brought into being the Bradford & District Association'. He also said that the Schools' Association abandonment of rugby for football in 1895 was another critical development. The two bodies ensured that the game made rapid progress. As has already been illustrated in many other sports a cup competition was often a central part of popularising a sport and football in Bradford was no exception. 'Preceptor' said that the donation of the Bradford Cup, by former Bradford AFC player Colonel Armitage, as an important stepping stone to the establishment of 'something like 100 schools and junior teams' in the city.⁴⁶

As football became established in Bradford clubs and leagues would appear and disappear quite rapidly. The Bradford Junior league emerged in 1898, the Bradford & District League in 1899, the Manningham & District League in 1900 and in 1902 the Bradford Alliance League and Bradford Combination League.⁴⁷ The *Bradford Observer* noted in 1900 that on a Saturday afternoon virtually every available pitch saw games of football and that if one saw a game of junior rugby it was 'quite remarkable'. There was clearly a thriving

⁴⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 6 May 1908; W.H. Sawyer, *The Jubilee Story of the Bradford City AFC* (Bradford: Bradford City Shareholders and Supporters Association, 1953), p.5.

⁴⁷ Grillo, *100 Years*, p.31, 46, 62-9; Wharton, *Bradford Amateur Football*, p.5.

football scene within the city.⁴⁸ From September 1902 onwards reports in the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* illustrate a sea change in the sporting habits of Bradfordians. The newspaper listed ninety-two senior football clubs competing in four leagues with a total of nine divisions and eighteen school teams playing in a two-division league. The Northern Union had twenty-eight teams playing in a two-division league and no reported presence in schools.⁴⁹

Kerrigan claimed that football's nationalisation had been greatly aided by the spread of the game at schoolboy level; of course, the schools themselves post-1880 education act were part of the nationalisation of British society. In both Birmingham and London football made its breakthrough in schools. Indeed, Walvin has described the adoption of football by schools as the key factor that transformed football into the national game.⁵⁰ Although Russell acknowledged the role of a nationalising society, he agreed with Walvin, stating that schools football was 'probably the single biggest influence on the changing situation'.⁵¹ Football was not part of the curriculum until 1906, but, as Mason, Russell and Taylor commented, the game was not absent from

⁴⁸ Taylor, *Association Game*, p.77.

⁴⁹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 12 Sept. 1902. For a full list of the leagues and teams see the appendix.

⁵⁰ Walvin, *The People's Game*, p.62.

⁵¹ Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', p.196.

elementary schooling, it was provided as an extra-curricular activity probably by a combination of enthusiastic teachers and boys willing to play the game in their own time.⁵² The teachers may have found satisfaction in passing on the love of a game they enjoyed themselves, gained pride from participation or success of their boys' teams, or simply have wished to witness the benefit of exercise and fresh air on their pupils.⁵³ The log books of Drummond Road Infants School, built on the site of Manningham Football Club's former Carlisle Road ground, are testament to the fact that, as Kerrigan commented, 'teachers were in the front line' in attempting to counter the poverty and disease that 'characterised the environments of so many elementary schools'.⁵⁴ As will be shown the evidence is strongly suggestive that a similar pattern of the development of school boy football was repeated in Bradford.⁵⁵

Initially, it appears that the Bradford School Board was opposed to exercise and sport as it had a policy of 'no drilling' in 1870 and it was not until 1888 that physical exercise was introduced, initially to 'foster discipline and

⁵² Mason, *Association Football*, pp.83-6; Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', pp.199-200; Taylor, *Association Game*, p.80.

⁵³ Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*, p.185.

⁵⁴ Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*, p.185; *Drummond Road Infants School Log Books*, 52D75/iv/11/3, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford. The log books have regular comments regarding absences, ill health and malnutrition among the pupils.

⁵⁵ Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*; *Athletic News*, 26 Jan. 1903.

obedience'.⁵⁶ The Bradford School Board, 'dominated by the left camp, the Liberal/Nonconformist group', was at the forefront of groundbreaking developments, most notably the provision of the first school dinners in the country and the building of the first school swimming pool. The latter was part of what was termed the 'unusual' interest in swimming that commenced in the 1880s.⁵⁷ It is probable that, as Meller argued, the provision of 'swimming baths for the sport of swimming' emerged from public health responsibilities of corporations.⁵⁸ Drummond Road Infants School introduced 'dumb bell drill' from July 1888.⁵⁹ Drummond Road's teachers were all females, so a male teacher would visit to instruct the pupils in physical education. As Colm Kerrigan discovered, schools with an all female staff were not necessarily at a disadvantage as regards provision of sport. He cited the case of a school in Kensal Rise, London, which had a successful football team largely due to the fact that the father of one of the pupils was QPR's trainer.⁶⁰ As teachers were rarely named in newspaper reports it is difficult to evaluate their motivation. Kerrigan stated that he found no evidence of teachers:

⁵⁶ *Education in Bradford since 1870* (Bradford: Bradford Corporation, 1970), p.16; Law, *Story of Bradford*, pp.267-71.

⁵⁷ *Education in Bradford*, pp.16-30.

⁵⁸ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, pp.113-15.

⁵⁹ *Drummond Road Infants School Log Book*, 5 July 1888, 52D75/iv/11/3, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford.

⁶⁰ Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*, p.67.

Making similar pronouncements to those made by politicians on the physical, moral, social, militaristic and imperialistic aspects of their work in running teams and organising matches.⁶¹

As it was not until 1892 that the Bradford Schools' Athletic Association (BSAA) was formed, it could be argued that swimming took priority over outdoor games. However, the formation of the BSAA was fairly consistent with developments elsewhere, with Manchester (1890), Liverpool and Nottingham (1891), Brighton (1892), Sunderland and Leicester (1893), Leeds (1896), Blackburn (1897) and Bolton (1898) being other areas that formed schools sporting and football associations.⁶²

Despite claims that association football was the only game initially organised by the BSAA, the records of the Bradford Schools' Football Association (BSFA) show that rugby was the sole game being played between 1892 and 1895.⁶³ That is unsurprising given that rugby was the dominant winter sport in Bradford and the West Riding of Yorkshire. However, by 1895 football had replaced rugby in Bradford's schools. Several histories of football in Bradford have quoted a boy breaking his leg playing rugby during the 1895-6 season as

⁶¹ Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*, p.66.

⁶² Mason, *Association Football*, p.85. Earlier associations were formed at Birmingham (1881), South London (1885) and Sheffield (1887).

⁶³ *Education in Bradford*, p.184; *Bradford Schools' Football Association Records*, 49D99, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford.

the reason for the switch to football.⁶⁴ Sawyer appears to be the first historian to mention the broken leg incident; aside from Russell, other historians have regurgitated Sawyer's story without comment.⁶⁵ While it should be borne in mind that Sawyer was involved in local football at the time of the alleged incident, thus far extensive research has failed to uncover any other contemporary reference to the accident. In the centenary history of the BSFA, Bulled was dubious about one accident being the cause of the switch to football.⁶⁶ Of course, the adoption of football dovetails with the great split that led to the formation of the Northern Union. It is impossible to know whether the schoolmasters were disillusioned with the actions of the Rugby Union, the Northern Union or indeed rugby in general. However, a single accident may have offered a timely excuse for the switch or it could have been the source for a creation myth similar to Webb-Ellis picking up a rugby ball and running with it. The *Bradford Observer*, when reporting on the 1896 Bradford Schools' Cup competition, noted that during the 1895-6 season the rules of the Association game had been adopted. Apparently, 'the teachers believed, [that soccer] would be more convenient, and besides would be more acceptable to

⁶⁴ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.24; Delaney, 'Impact of Association', p.7; Terry Frost, *Bradford City, a complete record, 1903-1988* (Nottingham: Breedon, 1988), pp.9-10, Richard Sanders, *Beastly Fury, the strange birth of British football* (Bantams Press, 2009), p.188.

⁶⁵ Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.5.

⁶⁶ John Bulled, *The Story of the Bradford Boys, a history of the Bradford Metropolitan District Schools' Football Association* (Bradford: BMDSFA, 1994), pp.3-6.

the parents of the boys'.⁶⁷ This tallies with Russell's argument that, particularly at grassroots level, issues of perception and practicality beset both codes of rugby:

Rugby did not always project a positive image. Rugby Union often exuded elitism and conservatism, while the newly established Northern Union was beset by organisational and financial problems in its first decade.⁶⁸

Unfortunately, the records of the BSFA are silent on the matter.⁶⁹ Intriguingly the BSAA raised funds to support their football league by holding, from 1898, an annual athletics festival at Park Avenue.⁷⁰ The importance of, what became known as, the 'Park Avenue Children's Sports' to the finances of the BSFA is illustrated by the fact that around 3,000 spectators attended the first event paying £80 4s 10d on the gate.⁷¹ Whether the choice of Park Avenue as the venue for the sports day was simply utilising the most suitable facilities in the city, or an attempt by the rugby club at Park Avenue to retain a link, and

⁶⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 28 Apr. 1896; Bulled, *Bradford Boys*, pp.3-6. Whether soccer was more 'acceptable' due to safety or social reasons, or a mixture of both, is left unexplained by contemporary reports.

⁶⁸ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.35.

⁶⁹ *Bradford Schools' Football Association Records*, 49D99, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford Central Library.

⁷⁰ *Education in Bradford*, p.184.

⁷¹ Bulled, *Bradford Boys*, p.7.

perhaps an influence, with the BSAA is an interesting question. In February 1903 a deputation from Bradford NUFC, concerned at the popularity of football among the youth of Bradford, convinced the BSAA to form a rugby section. However, the *Yorkshire Sports* claimed that the 'schools are determined to have nothing to do with the thing at all, preferring to stick to the Association game as the more suitable for boys of school age and more suited to the wishes of their parents'.⁷² At the AGM of the BSAA on 22 May 1903 sixteen schools voted to remain playing football, while six schools opted for rugby. The latter was boosted to eight schools when Belle Vue and Hanson decided to play both football and rugby. However, just four years later the rugby section was abolished.⁷³

Whatever the reasoning for the adoption of football, it was a popular decision as by 1900 twenty schools were competing in the BSAA football league. From around 1902 Bradford's Saturday night sporting pink, the *Yorkshire Sports*, even featured schoolboy footballers in a portrait album series.⁷⁴ Accidents aside, there were several factors that probably helped facilitate the change of codes. Football was relatively inexpensive and for an urban school the adaptability of the game was ideal for cramped playgrounds with hard

⁷² *Yorkshire Sports*, 17 Jan. 1903; Bulled, *Bradford Boys*, p.14.

⁷³ Bulled, *Bradford Boys*, pp.14-16.

⁷⁴ Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', p.200.

surfaces.⁷⁵ The inclusivity of football to boys of all physical sizes made the game attractive in comparison to the greater physical demands of rugby that would favour stronger and larger boys.⁷⁶ However, it should be noted that those factors did not prevent the continuation of school rugby in other urbanised areas of the north, examples being St. Helens and Wigan.

Once the schools football league was formed the Manningham schools rapidly became a dominant force; beginning in 1892 the first division championship was shared between Belle Vue, Lilycroft and Whetley Lane until Barkerend finally broke the Manningham stranglehold in 1905-6. The Schools' Cup commenced with a victory for Usher Street School in 1899-00, but the Manningham schools soon began to dominate the cup as well with Belle Vue and Whetley Lane winning the next four competitions. The proximity of public parks to successful school teams has been noted by Kerrigan and this may explain the why the Manningham schools enjoyed such dominance.⁷⁷ However, the Schools league of 1897-8 used all of Bradford's parks. It was split into four sections based around which of the four Bradford parks (Bowling, Horton, Manningham, Peel) were the most

⁷⁵ James Walvin, *A Child's World, a social history of English Childhood 1800-1914* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 1984), p.85.

⁷⁶ Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', pp.199-201.

⁷⁷ Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*, p.180; Mason *Association Football*, pp.86-7; Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.116.

convenient for the school teams concerned.⁷⁸ The influence of individual schoolmasters on the performance of their teams is another factor that could help explain the Manningham dominance. One was Arthur Bolton of Drummond Road Infants School. In his obituary he was credited with being 'one of the first teachers in Bradford to advocate playing of football by school children'.⁷⁹ The quote was made after he died aged fifty-nine. Represented at his funeral was a snapshot of his interests: the National Union of Teachers; Bradford Schools' Athletic Association; Heaton Ward Conservative Club; Manningham Musical Union; Lister Park Band Fund Committee. Other teachers, named by Sawyer who 'devoted their leisure time to popularising the sport amongst the boys', were Charlesworth, Pearson, Swaine, Sykes and Wright. With just surnames it is difficult to definitely establish identities and thereby potential motivations for the teachers' enthusiasm for football.

There is, however, evidence that besides a top down spread of football, boys also organised their own clubs. Kerrigan found that this even applied to schools teams as well as neighbourhood teams.⁸⁰ The author J.B. Priestley, born in Manningham in 1894, a period when Manningham FC was at the height of its fame, nevertheless eschewed rugby for football and played full

⁷⁸ Bulled, *Bradford Boys*, p.6.

⁷⁹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 6 Jan. 1922; Sawyer, *Jubilee History*, p.5.

⁸⁰ Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*, p.181.

back in school matches. He also played for the neighbourhood team Toller Lane Tykes and was photographed in 1905 with his friends and their invented Saltburn United AFC – the name being a reference to Saltburn Place where the Priestley family lived. Priestley's boyhood teams may be reflective of what Beaven described as a 'football craze' among boys during the period. He stated that this was represented by seemingly continuous games of street football with the loose teams offering the boys a sense of a highly localised identity. Similar developments were noted by Croll in Merthyr.⁸¹ J.B. Priestley later had a trial with Bradford Park Avenue AFC but apparently failed to impress.⁸² The formalising of, what Holt and Mason termed, street corner sides, whose intimate connection with everyday life is reflected in their names, could be seen as the link, or transition, between the world of the child and adult. These clubs were, arguably, the basic unit of the sporting landscape.⁸³

iii Bradford or Leeds?

The previous section illustrated the central role played by schools in establishing a foothold for the round ball game in Bradford. After schools'

⁸¹ Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, pp.108-9; Andy Croll, *Civilizing the Urban*, pp.137-8.

⁸² Peter Holdsworth, *The Rebel Tyke, Bradford and J.B. Priestley* (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1994), pp.37-8.

⁸³ Holt, 'Football and the Urban' p.74; Mason, *Association Football*, p.31.

football, probably the most critical factor in translating the local enthusiasm for football into the establishment of a professional football club was, as Russell deduced, 'the skilful lobbying of the soccer correspondent of the *Yorkshire Sports Saturday special*'.⁸⁴ The centrality of the influential role of the press is reinforced by the fact that two of the foremost pioneers in establishing a professional football club in Bradford were the sub-editor of the *Bradford Observer* James Whyte, who had played football in his native Scotland, and the headmaster of St Jude's School, and former Stoke City player, John Brunt.⁸⁵ James and Day have also noted the role of similar 'enthusiastic individuals' in spreading football in Manchester.⁸⁶ From around 1900 the coverage of football expanded in Bradford's Saturday evening newspaper the *Yorkshire Sports*. The newspapers football correspondent 'Goalkeeper' was, according to Russell, one of the earliest proponents of a professional football team in Bradford.⁸⁷

One of the most widely read sporting newspapers was the Manchester based *Athletic News*, with a claimed circulation of 180,000 by the 1890s, and with a northern and midlands focus, its influence must have also been significant.

⁸⁴ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.36. Unfortunately the correspondent wrote under the *nom de plume* 'Goalkeeper', thus it has been impossible to reliably identify him.

⁸⁵ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, pp.24-5; Frost, *Bradford City*, p.11; Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.5.

⁸⁶ James & Day, 'Football Culture in Manchester', p.66.

⁸⁷ Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', p.199.

The proprietor, Edward Hulton, is said to have realised that by utilising the rail network he could deliver newspapers 'anywhere north of the midlands' hours earlier than his London rivals.⁸⁸ The newspaper's comprehensive results and fixtures sections ensured that its readers were fully aware of the development and strength of both codes of football across the country. It was part of a nationalising process summed up by Holt as 'the spread of elementary education and the rise of the popular press locally and nationally, citizens were better informed and had wider horizons than before'.⁸⁹ *Athletic News* was read in just about every northern town and city. Mason unequivocally stated that:

It was without doubt the country's leading football weekly in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first fifteen years of the twentieth.⁹⁰

Although *Athletic News* covered a myriad of sports, there is little doubt that it was strongly identified with professional football.⁹¹ Indeed, the editor

⁸⁸ Steve Tate, 'Edward Hulton and sports journalism in late-Victorian Manchester', Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', Dave Russell, ed., *Sport in Manchester, Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 20, (Manchester: 2009), p.57.

⁸⁹ Holt, 'Football and the Urban' p.79.

⁹⁰ Mason, *Association Football*, p.191.

⁹¹ Tony Mason, 'Sporting News 1860-1914', Michael Harris & Alan J. Lee, eds., *The Press and English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries* (Associated University Press, 1986), p.173.

between 1893 and 1900 was the president of the Football League. Hence as the case for a professional football club in Bradford was made, *Athletic News*' reporting on the situation was, at the very least, extremely well informed and was probably almost a running commentary from a Football League perspective. The opening days of 1903 saw a concerted attempt to form a professional football club in the city. A circular written by Whyte and Brunt claimed at a moderate estimate 20,000 watched local association games on any given Saturday. With that figure in mind, they suggested that a professional team would attract seven or eight thousand supporters.⁹² In late January *Athletic News*, commenting on the possibility of a professional team in West Yorkshire, signalled what could be viewed as explicit support from football's governing bodies and League clubs:

It is believed that the first in the field will receive most consideration and greatest assistance from the Football Association. It is said that some of the clubs with more professionals than they require are willing to grant transfers without payment of the usual fees, and there is a strong belief that the first professional team formed in that particular district will be given a place in the Second Division ... with a view to fostering the

⁹² *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 26 May 1903; Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.26.

“Socker” code at a more rapid rate than would possibly be the case if the team had to fight its way through the ordinary channels.⁹³

The *Bradford Daily Telegraph* made a thinly veiled appeal to local pride asking ‘will it be Bradford or Leeds?’ that would pioneer professional football in the West Riding.⁹⁴ The truth was that Leeds was in no position to challenge Bradford. The previous summer Hunslet AFC had disbanded due to the loss of their Nelson Grounds and the success of Hunslet Northern Union Club.⁹⁵ The lack of a dedicated ground fatally undermined Leeds’ bid for a professional football club.⁹⁶ Although Sheffield United met a Leeds Association XI at Holbeck Northern Union Club’s Elland Road ground in April 1903 in front of 3,500 spectators, the momentum was with Bradford. The football pioneers could concentrate entirely on negotiations with Manningham FC, as at Park Avenue the Bradford FC committee were ‘uncompromising’ in their opposition to football and their counterparts at Valley Parade were ‘not so unanimous in their objections’. The *Athletic News* expressed disappointment that Bradford FC was not at the forefront given their history of promoting football.⁹⁷ A *Bradford Daily Telegraph* article said that

⁹³ *Athletic News*, 26 Jan. 1903.

⁹⁴ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.36.

⁹⁵ Mike Green, *The Origin and Development of Football in Leeds* (Leeds: Ediprint, n.d.), p.36.

⁹⁶ Williams, *Code War*, p.161.

⁹⁷ *Athletic News*, 26 Jan. 1903.

two rugby clubs could not prosper in the city and that projections based on existing football clubs, and the relative populations of those towns compared to Bradford, suggested that a football club would almost certainly be a success. The newspaper even stated that 'we have the authority for saying that the FA will do all in its power to assist'.⁹⁸ While the support of the FA was significant, it would ultimately be the member clubs of the Football League who would decide whether to admit a new Bradford club into their ranks. However, if the statement is accepted at face value it does suggest that the Bradford bid was well organised and connected.

For the time being Manningham's commitment to rugby seemed as strong as ever when they signed three new players prior to the home game against Normanton on 24 January 1903.⁹⁹ However, they were obviously keeping their options open, as only six days later James Whyte and John Brunt were invited to a meeting at Valley Parade by Manningham's president Alfred Ayrton. There, for the first time, the possibility of a professional football club was discussed.¹⁰⁰ On 14 February 1903 the football pioneers formed a committee to begin the detailed planning required to bring the professional football club to fruition. Manningham's president Alfred Ayrton was among

⁹⁸ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jan. 1903.

⁹⁹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 23 Jan., 24 Jan. 1903.

¹⁰⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 31 Jan. 1903.

its number.¹⁰¹ By the end of the month they had secured support from enough Football League sides to be able to state 'should a club be formed little doubt now exists as to the question of securing admission to the second division of the Football League'.¹⁰² The case for a new professional club in Bradford continued to be made via the pages of the *Athletic News*. In mid-March a letter was reproduced stating that there was already in place:

A well-equipped ground, capable of accommodating 25,000 spectators; dressing rooms and bath rooms on the ground; a capital of between £2,500 and £3,000 with which to begin operations of securing a really capable team.¹⁰³

On 26 March 1903 a special meeting of Manningham members was held at St Paul's Schoolroom.¹⁰⁴ Initially there was some hostility towards the committee. The fact that the ordinary six shilling members had not been invited was the source of much discontent. Sam Naylor claimed that the committee had already 'practically pledged itself to run a professional association team next year'. Club president Alfred Ayrton said 'over the last three years nearly £1,000 had been lost and the club had been crippled by

¹⁰¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 14 Feb., 16 Feb. 1903.

¹⁰² Frost, *Bradford City*, pp.11-12; *Athletic News*, 30 Mar. 1903.

¹⁰³ *Athletic News*, 16 Mar. 1903.

¹⁰⁴ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 27 March 1903.

debt'. The previous Saturday £115 had been taken at the gate for the derby against Keighley, a sum that was ten times greater than at least half a dozen other games that season. With Keighley and Leeds poised for promotion to the first division those lucrative pay days would be lost. The treasurer Harry Jowett thought 'that the committee deserved thanks for getting the club out of debt', but he couldn't see how that situation could go on for much longer. He went on 'rugby was a dismal failure, and as businessmen they must look to something better'. The football pioneers were offering to provide £2,000 cash (albeit repayable at 5% interest) if Manningham would offer the ground and £500 capital. Two former players gave opposing views of the future. Billy Fawcett, the former Manningham captain who had been banned for life by the RFU, considered football 'the coming game', but Eddie Holmes, another former Manningham captain and Rugby Union international, thought that the club should disband and 'wind up its affairs honourably'. After two hours debate the meeting gave overwhelming support to 'form a first class football team to be run in conjunction with the present rugby team'. In reply to a question from the floor Ayrton said the new club was to be called 'Bradford City FC'.¹⁰⁵ The following night a large meeting of football supporters at the Market Tavern appointed a sub-committee to meet their Manningham counterparts. In light of the Manningham members' support of the football

¹⁰⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 28 March 1903.

proposal, a further committee was formed to begin to look into the engagement of players.¹⁰⁶

It was claimed that eighteen Football League clubs were supportive of the emerging Bradford bid for Football League status. Indeed Sheffield United sent a team to meet a West Yorkshire XI at Valley Parade on 6 April. Despite miserable weather 7,000 fans saw the Blades win a high scoring encounter 8-5. Manningham members were admitted free of charge.¹⁰⁷ The *Bradford Daily Telegraph* said the match would 'no doubt guide them in their decisions at subsequent meetings'.¹⁰⁸ The takings of £90 allowed the West Yorkshire Association to bank a profit of £40.¹⁰⁹ On 28 April Middlesbrough arrived at Valley Parade to give their support for football in Bradford. They drew 1-1 with a West Yorkshire XI at Valley Parade in front of 2,000 spectators.¹¹⁰ Commenting on the visits of Sheffield United's visit and Middlesbrough, the *Athletic News* concluded that:

The fact that it is possible to arrange such matches may be accepted as evidence, first of a willingness of League clubs to lend a helping hand to

¹⁰⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 28 March 1903.

¹⁰⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 6 Apr., 7 Apr. 1903.

¹⁰⁸ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 6 Apr. 1903.

¹⁰⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 28 Apr., 29 Apr. 1903.

¹¹⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 28 Apr., 29 Apr. 1903.

a new district, and next to the ability of the football public in that district to make each game pay.¹¹¹

As the support for the Bradford bid became more overt, it is interesting to note that when the date of a Football League v Irish League fixture was made public, 10 October 1903, no venue was announced other than the tie would take place 'in England'.¹¹² The game was subsequently staged at Bradford City's Valley Parade ground. Although it is tempting to speculate as to whether the game had been promised to the new club over a month before Bradford City was elected into the Football League, the selection process for a venue did not begin in earnest until June 1903 when league president John James Bentley was designated with that task.¹¹³

In May 1903 the *Athletic News* stated 'we hear that the election of Bradford to the second division is quite possible – nay, probable'.¹¹⁴ A week later the *Athletic News* reiterated the strength in depth of football in Bradford. It stated that there was ninety-four affiliated clubs taking part in seven leagues. Valley Parade could accommodate 20,000 spectators, Bradford had a population of

¹¹¹ *Athletic News*, 13 Apr. 1903.

¹¹² *Athletic News*, 6 Apr. 1903.

¹¹³ *Football League management committee minutes*, 29 June 1903. Lancashire County Archive, Preston, DDFOL/1/1/1/4.

¹¹⁴ *Athletic News*, 4 May 1903.

300,000 and that a further one million lived within an easy travel distance. The Sheffield clubs were thought to be supportive and it was summed up that 'if Barnsley can support a second division team there seems no reason why Bradford should not do as much'.¹¹⁵ On several occasions *Athletic News* made reference to Bradford's population and capacity of Valley Parade. Taylor noted, that although no formal criteria was laid down until the 1920s, the repeated references to population, ground capacity and transport provide 'some clues as to the informal criteria applied to potential applicants'.¹¹⁶

A delegation from Bradford City, comprising of John Brunt, John Fattorini, Arnold Foxcroft, and James Whyte, attended the Football League's AGM at the Tavistock Hotel London on 25 May 1903. Three places in the Football League would be voted on. Burnley, Doncaster Rovers and Stockport County were seeking re-election against four would be entrants to the second division. Bradford City was voted into the league by what was described as an overwhelming majority with thirty of thirty-three clubs supporting the new club.¹¹⁷ Stockport and Football League founder members Burnley were the other successful clubs, although both trailed in Bradford City's wake as

¹¹⁵ *Athletic News*, 11 May 1903.

¹¹⁶ Taylor, *The Leaguers*, p.25.

¹¹⁷ *Athletic News*, 1 June 1903.

regards the number of votes. Doncaster Rovers lost their place in the league and made way for the new Bradford City club.¹¹⁸

Table 1.5

Votes cast at the Football League AGM 1903

Bradford City	30
Stockport County	20
Burnley	19
Doncaster Rovers	14
Crewe Alexandra	7
West Hartlepool	7
Willington	1

There were dissenting voices. *Athletic News* received a letter from a supporter of one of the five rejected clubs claiming that ‘undue influence had been brought to bear’ on the voting clubs.¹¹⁹ The size of the vote has been viewed as an indication of a desire to see professional football break into the rugby heartland of the West Riding. Russell described the election of Bradford City as indicative of the ‘politically astute and highly expansionist’ policy of the

¹¹⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 25 May 1903; *Football League management committee minutes*, 25 May 1903.

¹¹⁹ *Athletic News*, 1 June 1903.

Football League.¹²⁰ Taylor highlighted the suggestion 'that in the 1900s the League, either at management committee level or through the collective wishes of the clubs, made a conscious effort to expand into areas previously dominated by professional rugby.'¹²¹ Simon Inglis went so far to state that by 1903 the league had begun plotting 'the colonisation of England at the expense of every rival organisation in both football and rugby'.¹²² However, Taylor argued that it was unclear if there was a strategy. Moreover, it was the clubs, not the League Management Committee, which elected other clubs into the league so in the end it would come down to the merits of Bradford City's application. A presence in the previously rugby dominated West Yorkshire was undoubtedly attractive to the Football League, particularly as the area had already demonstrated that it could generate large gate paying crowds for rugby matches and the fact that the area was within easy travelling distance of the majority of Football League clubs. However, the election of Bradford City to the League, rather than being part of a 'colonisation' policy may have been simply, as Vamplew noted, that clubs from areas with small populations were 'sacrificed' by the Football League in order to 'raise overall attendances' for what Vamplew described as their sporting cartel. The election of Bradford City could be presented as an illustration of such a policy.¹²³ It appears that

¹²⁰ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.36.

¹²¹ Taylor, *The Leaguers*, pp.26-7.

¹²² Inglis, *League Football*, p.56.

¹²³ Vamplew, *Pay Up*, p.5.

the events of 1903 were part of an incremental expansion that, both geographically and financially, was preferable to a bolder strategic inclusion of a club from London and or the south. If so it supports Taylor's conclusion that the growth of the Football League was 'largely piecemeal and *ad hoc*'.¹²⁴

John Fattorini, Arnold Foxcroft and James Whyte returned to Bradford in triumph, but John Brunt stayed behind to organise the fixtures. That night the upstairs room of the Belle Vue was packed with well-wishers. Alfred Ayrton presided over the celebrations; the entire Manningham committee were in attendance, as were 160 Manningham members. Foxcroft described City's election as 'the greatest football scoop ever known'.¹²⁵ Illustrating the widespread support for the new club among the supporters and officials of Manningham was the fact that club stalwarts Tony Fattorini, Billy Fawcett and Ike Newton all addressed the meeting.

The Manningham committee had by now shifted their position and were proposing abandoning rugby 'for twelve months' and using the free Saturday to run a reserve football team. One obstacle remained – the members of Manningham rugby club. As a democratic organisation they had the power to kill the football club at birth. At St Paul's Schoolroom on 29 May 1903,

¹²⁴ Taylor, *Leaguers*, p.28.

¹²⁵ Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.6.

president Alfred Ayrton chaired a stormy annual meeting.¹²⁶ His committee for the historic gathering was: Harry Jowett, William Knowles, Arthur Lancaster, Ike Newton, John Nunn, Ernest Wilkinson and William Wyrill. Journalist William Sawyer remembered the tense excitement of the evening, for it was known that the proposal to adopt football would be no formality.¹²⁷ It was going to be a keen fight. Manningham had lost £609 on the season. From an income of £862 a crippling £608 had been paid in players wages. The gate receipts were £669, subscriptions £126 and donations £53. Only an athletics festival had saved the club. It had grossed £1,772, which had cleared the clubs debts and left a balance at hand of £472. Alfred Ayrton concluded that the club could not survive as a second division rugby club. He urged the members to support 'a game that would pay'. Harry Jowett formally proposed the motion that 'the club abandon rugby for the present'. Although a call for rugby to be retained was 'met with great cheers', after two hours of heated debate, it was agreed by seventy-five to thirty-four votes that rugby would be abandoned.¹²⁸

Bradford City AFC was born.

¹²⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 29 May 1903.

¹²⁷ Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, pp.6-7.

¹²⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 30 May 1903.

iv Bradford City AFC, football comes to Valley Parade

The size of the task facing the infant Bradford City AFC during its first season in the Football League should not be underestimated. Bradford City became, as Arnold noted, ‘the only side to join the Football League without having played a soccer match of any kind’.¹²⁹ It was without precedent and represented a huge gamble for, not only the football club, but also the Football League itself. The lack of experience among the club’s hierarchy is evidenced by the fact that the players were allowed to choose a captain by means of a vote.¹³⁰ The Football League made a concerted effort to ensure that their newest club would be a success, the staging of the English League v Irish League match at Valley Parade in October 1903 represented a clear signal of support.¹³¹ Arnold claims it was the first time an inter-league match had been played away from the established football centres.¹³² The fact that the gates had to be closed fifteen minutes before kick off caused the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* to comment that ‘never before had money been turned away from the Manningham ground’.¹³³ The Football Association also illustrated its firm

¹²⁹ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.26.

¹³⁰ Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.8.

¹³¹ *Football League management committee minutes*, 1 Oct. 1903. The confirmation of the selection of Valley Parade for the international was made less than two weeks before the match took place.

¹³² Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.46; Frost, *Bradford City*, p.62; Pendleton, *Paraders*, pp.27-9.

¹³³ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 12 Oct. 1903; Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.46; Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.9.

backing for Bradford City, and football in the West Riding, when they awarded the staging of the 1904 FA Amateur Cup Final to Valley Parade. Around 3,000 spectators saw the world's oldest football club Sheffield defeat Ealing by four goals to one.¹³⁴

The resulting mid-table finish to Bradford City's first season in the Football League, and the posting of a small financial profit, was a notable achievement. The pressures of competing in a truly national competition were illustrated by the fact that while the gate receipts (£3,896) were five times higher than the last season in the Northern Union, the player costs were six times higher and the travel costs four times greater in the Football League.¹³⁵ Reducing players costs by producing their own players was difficult given the relative short history of the game in the district. This was perhaps illustrated by the inability of the club's reserve players to bridge the gulf in class between the West Yorkshire League (which they won) and a place in the first team when injuries required it.¹³⁶

Success was the only certain way of improving finances, but the pursuit of success cost money and in their second season, 1904-5, a loss £440 was

¹³⁴ Frost, *Bradford City*, p.62; Pendleton, *Paraders*, p.32.

¹³⁵ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.47; Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.9. An entire team had been purchased at a cost of £917 10s in transfer fees.

¹³⁶ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.46.

reported.¹³⁷ Although overheads were greater, so was the income, for example the gate receipts for the home FA Cup tie against Wolverhampton Wanderers in February 1906, when a 17,000 crowd paid £635 at the gate, exceeded that taken in the whole of the club's final season in the Northern Union.¹³⁸ However, the club had continued to make losses and when, what was described as, a £2,000 'trading deficiency' was announced it led to the formation of a commission of inquiry into the club's financial structure.¹³⁹ Their recommendations saw the club registered as a limited company. The financial restructuring of the club and the appointment of Peter O'Rourke as secretary-manager over the following two years were critical decisions in the club's history.¹⁴⁰ O'Rourke led City to a fifth place finish in 1906-7 which resulted in record gate receipts and the overall bank overdraft, which had reached £1,074 due to ground improvements and team building, being halved.¹⁴¹ Promotion to Division One in 1908 dovetailed with the establishment of the limited company. The share issue was expected to raise the necessary finance to expand Valley Parade for first division crowds and

¹³⁷ Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.11.

¹³⁸ Frost, *Bradford City*, p.174; Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.12.

¹³⁹ Frost, *Bradford City*, p.15; D.R. Gillan, J. Dewhirst, T. Clapham, K. Mellor, *Of Boars and Bantams* (Nottingham: Temple, 1988), p.12.

¹⁴⁰ Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.11. O'Rourke had played in City's opening match in 1903 and is still the most successful manager in the club's history, winning the Division Two championship in 1908, the FA Cup in 1911 and managing the club in the top division for thirteen years.

¹⁴¹ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, pp.46-7; Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.12.

bring in players capable of retaining the club's top-flight status.¹⁴² The take up of 3,600 of the 7,000 £1 shares was described as 'disappointing'. The redevelopment of Valley Parade in anticipation of first division football had cost £10,000 and so the club was left under capitalised and 'unusually dependent' on income at the gate.¹⁴³ Dixon, Garnham and Jackson detected a similar lukewarm response to share issues at Middlesbrough, Newcastle and Sunderland.¹⁴⁴ The presence of another club in the same town, as at Middlesbrough, was particularly telling and one of the main reasons for the under capitalisation at Valley Parade was the fact that by 1908 Bradford City was not the only professional football club in the city, as Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC had been elected to the Football League. Their election and the split of available resources within a city the size of Bradford is an issue that will be returned to in the next chapter.

In the short term the appearance of a cross-city rival football club appeared to have no effect on the success of Bradford City. In a mere five seasons Bradford City had established themselves as a Football League side and gained promotion to the first division. Between 1908 and the outbreak of the Great War they would go on to become one of the leading clubs in the country and

¹⁴² Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, pp.49-50.

¹⁴³ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.59.

¹⁴⁴ Pamela Dixon, Neal Garnham and Andrew Jackson, 'Shareholders and Shareholdings, the case of the football company in late Victorian England', *Business History*, Vol.46, No.4, October 2004, pp.505-07.

would win the FA Cup in 1911. It was nothing short of astonishing. Arnold described it as 'an impressive achievement', but given the starting point, as a semi-bankrupt club in an entirely different sport, it was surely much more than that.¹⁴⁵ The magnitude of Bradford City's success was such that it must be classed as the major factor in the successful establishment of football in West Yorkshire. Without that sure first step the subsequent professional club formations at Leeds, Huddersfield and Halifax may not have been made with such confidence and met with popular acclaim. Russell described Manningham's switch to football in 1903 as a 'critical moment for the long-term development of professional sport in the area'.¹⁴⁶ Arguably, that moment became even more pivotal because of Bradford City's subsequent success and that greatly facilitated an irrevocable alteration of the sporting landscape of West Yorkshire and nowhere would that be felt more keenly than in the board room of Bradford FC at Park Avenue.

v Cash or Class? Bradford FC and the Northern Union

The Bradford FC committee were initially 'delighted' by Manningham's conversion to football. They expected that disenfranchised rugby supporters

¹⁴⁵ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.51.

¹⁴⁶ Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', p.197.

would rally behind Bradford FC.¹⁴⁷ Initially, the prospects looked bright for Bradford as they found success on the field, winning the Northern Union championship in 1903-4, ending as runners up in 1904-5 and lifting the Challenge Cup in 1905-6.¹⁴⁸ However, across Yorkshire football's inexorable rise was impacting hard on rugby club finances. In 1903 the *Yorkshire Post* doubted whether any second tier side had made rugby pay.¹⁴⁹ In November 1903 Hull FC directors met with their counterparts at Bradford City AFC in order to better understand the implications of adopting football.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps most significantly, Holbeck Northern Union Club's defeat in a promotion play off match at the end of the 1903-4 season left the club facing another season in the second tier of the Northern Union. Members of the club, doubtless with the situation at Valley Parade at the forefront of their minds, pushed for a switch to the association game. As Leeds was, at the time, the biggest city in England without a Football League club, the prospect of success seemed to be excellent. Thus the club's Elland Road ground became available and the former Hunslet AFC, reborn as Leeds City AFC brought professional football

¹⁴⁷ Williams, *Code War*, p.161.

¹⁴⁸ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.56.

¹⁴⁹ *Yorkshire Post*, 26 May 1903.

¹⁵⁰ Williams, *Code War*, pp.162-3. Hull FC planned to disband their loss making reserve side and replace it with an association football club. In December 1903 they announced an exhibition match between Bradford City and Grimsby Town, but the match was abandoned when Hull FC decided to remain loyal to the Northern Union.

to Bradford's neighbouring city for the 1904-5 season.¹⁵¹ In the wake of that development the *Leeds Mercury* commented:

The public want a national game rather than a code peculiar to a circumscribed area ... thus, while the Northern Union has too limited an area to be really a great force, and the Rugby Union is to some extent discredited as a purely amateur combination, and is weakened through the loss of the cream of the clubs of the north, the Association game is national in scope and influence, and is yearly becoming more powerful and more popular.¹⁵²

Leeds, along with Hull City, was elected to the Football League in May 1905.¹⁵³ Huddersfield, who had been relegated to the second division, considered in 1905 abandoning the Northern Union and forming a professional football club. Only the announcement that the two divisions of the Northern Rugby League would be merged from 1905-6 prevented the club, in whose town the Northern Union had been formed, switching to football.¹⁵⁴ Russell described it as a 'period of crisis' for rugby with Bingley

¹⁵¹ Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, p.186; Williams, *Code War*, p.162.

¹⁵² *Leeds Mercury*, 2 Oct. 1905.

¹⁵³ Green, *Football in Leeds*, pp.36-9; Cameron Fleming, *Yorkshire Football, a history*, (Leeds: Scratching Shed, 2010), pp.71-2; Frost *Huddersfield Town*, pp.8-10. In the following years Huddersfield Town (1908) and Halifax Town (1911) would only strengthen football's grip on the West Riding.

¹⁵⁴ Trevor Delany, *Code 13*, No.9, Dec. 1988, p.26.

(1901), Morley (1902), Liversedge (1903) and Brighouse Rangers (1906) all disbanded.¹⁵⁵ Northern Union club AGMs in 1906 reported losses across the board: Leeds lost £572; Batley £500; Keighley and Bramley made undisclosed losses.¹⁵⁶ Between 1904 and 1907 at Batley, Castleford, Keighley, Leigh and Swinton players accepted pay cuts due to the dire economic positions of their clubs.¹⁵⁷ In early 1907 the *Keighley News* summed up the enormous impact that the rise of football had on the Northern Union game:

The rapid march of the association code has undoubtedly put the rugby popularity in the shade – 17,000 at Bradford City last week, while 2,000 watched a big rugby match ... Within the past ten years the following clubs have dropped out of existence. Bingley, Shipley, Keighley Olicana, Cross Roads, Keighley Clarence, Keighley St. Annes, Silsden, Haworth, Denholme, Pudsey, Todmorden, Goole, Outwood, Kinsley, Heckmondwike, Holbeck, Windhill, Cleckheaton, Eastmoor, Bowling, Luddendenfoot, Normanton, Rothwell, Brighouse Rangers, Liversedge, Castleford, Alverthorpe, Otley, Featherstone, Elland, Idle, Morley, Pontefract, Hull Marlboro, Ripon, Leeds Parish Church, Manningham, Ossett, Hebden Bridge and Kirkstall.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', p.197.

¹⁵⁶ Delany, *Code 13*, No.9, p.32.

¹⁵⁷ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.175-6.

¹⁵⁸ *Keighley News*, 5 Jan. 1907.

In that context, Bradford FC's Park Avenue ground, the physical embodiment of civic pride, was becoming an unsustainable liability. The ground had lavishly been developed in competition with other Yorkshire towns, notably Huddersfield and Leeds, in an effort to be the 'most prestigious sporting amenities in Yorkshire'.¹⁵⁹ The physical social status of Park Avenue came with a high price tag. In 1896 it was reported that £10,300 was owed as a result of the development of the ground. During 1895 and 1896 the annual £1,000 payment that serviced that debt had not been paid. Despite profits in all but one of the club's seasons in the Northern Union in 1907 £7,000 was still owed.¹⁶⁰ In 1906-7 Bradford FC finished in eighteenth place in the new single division Northern Union that resulted in, what Arnold claimed, was the worst financial result in the club's history. Bradford CA&FC lost £770 on all sports. With a mortgage of £7,000 the committee believed that the long-term prospects of meeting the mortgage in the Northern Union were dubious.¹⁶¹

Selling the loss making cricketing field was impossible as the land was subject to a ninety-nine lease that stipulated that it could only be utilised for sporting purposes. However, as Collins noted, even had that option been available, the

¹⁵⁹ Collins, *Great Split*, p.187.

¹⁶⁰ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.57; Collins, *Great Split*, p.187.

¹⁶¹ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.56.

club would not have even contemplated selling the cricket ground as it would have been 'a disastrous blow to the prestige and civic standing of the town'.¹⁶² Bradford's president Harry Briggs's conclusion that rugby could not generate the income required to service the club's debts and that only a Football League club could, was, as Arnold stated, logical but also startling as it questioned the entire sporting landscape of Bradford.¹⁶³

Conclusion

The replacement of rugby by football as the dominant winter participatory and spectator sport in Bradford within a single decade represents a seismic, shift of sporting allegiances. The fact that nothing like it has occurred anywhere in the developed world since reinforces its significance. The figures are so stark that they are worthy of a repeat. In 1894 120 Rugby Union clubs were active in Bradford while football had a negligible presence. In 1902, just eight years later, only 28 rugby clubs were operating in contrast to 110 football clubs. The figures are an almost mirror image of one another. They represent a complete reversal of fortunes and indeed could be presented as evidence of a rejection of not only the Northern Union game, but rugby in its entirety. The only comparable event was the move from rugby to football in the early 1880s

¹⁶² Collins, *Great Split*, p.187.

¹⁶³ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.58.

in Lancashire. The refusal of the Lancashire Rugby Union to sanction a cup competition, the elitism of the dominant Liverpool and Manchester clubs and the early successes of east Lancashire clubs in the FA Cup were decisive factors and ones that differentiated events east and west of the Pennines.¹⁶⁴ In West Yorkshire football had to overcome a version of rugby that had large levels of participation, a cup and league system, regular five figure attendances and well-developed aspects of commercial exploitation and professionalism.

Football's initial incursion into Bradford during the 1890s failed probably because it lacked the support structure required to establish itself in the face the huge popularity of rugby. The early football clubs were reliant on the adult players, a good number of whom, had gained enthusiasm and knowledge of the game elsewhere. Crucially the infrastructure they relied upon was largely provided by the host rugby clubs and in the face of hostility, or indifference, from the dominant rugby sections, football withered on the vine. In the case of Bradford it is difficult to support Dunning and Sheard's contention that the rugby clubs were profiteering or exercising social control by running association football sections.¹⁶⁵ The almost apathetic attitude taken

¹⁶⁴ Collins, *Great Split*, pp.37-9.

¹⁶⁵ Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, p.219.

to football suggests that Arnold's conclusion, that clubs were using football to supplement their income, is the most likely explanation.¹⁶⁶

As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, three key factors combined to ensure that football's next incursion would prove to be decisive: rugby's great split, the formation of the Bradford & District Football Association and the introduction of football into schools. The dalliance with football in the 1890s had created a residue of players, clubs and officials who ensured that twentieth century football in Bradford was built on surer foundations. Fred Lister (later president of the Northern Union) and Isaac Brogden, both of whom had been involved with Bradford AFC, were attendees of the formation of the BDFA in March 1899. With a strong organisational structure football in the city began to make rapid strides. The figures speak for themselves. By 1902 football had ninety-two clubs competing in four leagues; the Northern Union by contrast had twenty-eight teams playing in two divisions. In the schools the trend was even more apparent: there were eighteen school football teams playing in two divisions, while there was no reported Northern Union presence whatsoever.

The situation in Bradford is strongly supportive of Kerrigan's, Russell's and Walvin's claims that football's eventual status as the national winter game

¹⁶⁶ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.32.

was to a great extent facilitated by the spread of schoolboy football.¹⁶⁷ Between 1892 and 1895 rugby was played in Bradford's schools. It was replaced in 1895 by football following claims that a boy had suffered a broken leg. However, there is no official record of the accident, the statement was made in Bradford City AFC's jubilee history, published fifty-eight years after the event.¹⁶⁸ While it has proved impossible to establish the veracity of the claim, the timing of the accident, dovetailing as it did with rugby's great split, may have offered a timely excuse to adopt football. Throughout the 1890s rugby had been engaged in a civil war, following the great split of 1895. If schools wanted to play rugby they had to make a decision as to which version they wanted to adopt. To a certain extent that could be a political decision given the nature of the debates about professionalism and class that raged during the split. As Russell noted 'rugby did not always project a positive image'.¹⁶⁹ Perhaps the teachers, and indeed pupils, of Bradford had simply had enough and wanted to play a game that did not force them to adopt a stance. Additionally, the simplicity and adaptability of football to sport in an urban environment may have been a factor. Though the playing of tag rugby should not be dismissed, the alleged accident, the inclusive nature of football to boys of all physical statures may have driven perceptions that, as a

¹⁶⁷ Kerrigan, *Teachers and Football*; Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious', p.196; Walvin, *People's Game*, p.62.

¹⁶⁸ Sawyer, *Jubilee Story*, p.5.

¹⁶⁹ Russell, *Football and the English*, p.35.

contemporary report stated, football was a game that was 'more suitable to boys of school age'.¹⁷⁰

The developments in schools summed up in the last section, allied with the role of the press, and in particular the *Athletic News*, in the election of Bradford City AFC to the Football League can be portrayed as part of a nationalising process, where a combination of elementary education and the emergence of a local and national popular press came together to widen the horizons of the sporting public. While the formation of a professional football club into the active and supportive environment of 1903 Bradford was perhaps an inevitable consequence of the rapid growth of the sport in Bradford, it can also be framed as another element of Holt's nationalising process.¹⁷¹ The case made for the election of Bradford City with frequent references to ground capacity, population and financial backing concurs with Taylor's observation that, although no official formula was set until the 1920s, the repeated highlighting of the same elements of the bid gives an indication as to what Football League clubs were likely to be swayed by when casting their votes.¹⁷² The evidence presented in this chapter reinforces Mason's claim

¹⁷⁰ *Yorkshire Sports*, 17 Jan. 1903.

¹⁷¹ Holt, 'Football and the Urban' p.79.

¹⁷² Taylor, *The Leaguers*, p.25.

that it was almost certain that the club was promised a place within the Football League in 1903.¹⁷³

The election of Bradford City into the Football League has been presented by Inglis and Russell as evidence of a bold expansionist policy, driving deep into the heartland of the Northern Union.¹⁷⁴ Taylor offered a more nuanced argument that the move was incremental and *ad hoc*. This, Taylor contended, fitted with the individualistic voting structure of the Football League.¹⁷⁵ While there is no doubt that a weakened Northern Union made West Yorkshire, with its proven history of commercialised spectator sport, a tempting target, because the Football League was a members' organisation, driving through an aggressive expansionist policy had to overcome the self-interest of the individual members clubs, some of whom might find their status threatened by an influx of strong clubs from the big cities of Bradford and Leeds. The resulting elevation of Bradford City into the Football League signalled that either enough clubs were convinced that an expansionist policy was there for the greater good of the game, or, as Vamplew stated, clubs were content to sacrifice clubs from areas with small populations in order to increase overall attendances and thereby strengthen their cartel.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Mason, *Association Football*, p.46.

¹⁷⁴ Inglis, *League Football*, p.56; Russell, *Football and the English*, p.36.

¹⁷⁵ Taylor, *The Leaguers*, pp.26-7.

¹⁷⁶ Vamplew, *Pay Up*, p.5.

For Manningham FC election to the Football League offered an opportunity to escape the geographical and financial constraints of the Northern Union's second division. Much has been made of Manningham's financial travails. Indeed Arnold's study of the finances of Bradford football was entitled 'A Game That Would Pay' which echoed Manningham's president Alfred Ayrton's phrase at the meeting where Manningham's members voted to become a football club.¹⁷⁷ However, although the club was operating within a tight financial position, the experience, and survival, of other second tier Northern Union clubs suggests that Manningham could have carried on within the Northern Union. By adopting football almost overnight Manningham, in the guise of Bradford City AFC, became the civic representative of Bradford in the national sport of football and in doing so they usurped their rivals Bradford FC. It was a status they could never have gained within the Northern Union.

The emergence of Bradford City AFC represented a challenge to the status that Bradford FC had enjoyed, almost unchallenged, for over a quarter of a century. The self-image of Bradford FC as the city's civic representative on the sporting field was clearly highly important to the club. That status found its physical representation in the shape of the expensively constructed Park

¹⁷⁷ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.27.

Avenue grounds. Despite continued success in the Northern Union, the mortgage on the Park Avenue ground remained stubbornly at the £7,000 mark, which caused envious glances to be made towards the regular, and growing, five figure crowds at Valley Parade. The threat to Bradford FC's civic status, and debts unlikely to be paid by Northern Union football, combined to drive the club to taking a series of decisions that would shape the sporting landscape and fortunes of the city of Bradford for the best part of a century. That will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Six

A Modern Sporting Landscape

Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC and Bradford Northern RLFC 1907-1908

The events of 1907 were crucial in shaping the modern sporting landscape of Bradford. It will be argued that senses of identity and status, which stemmed from Victorian rugby rivalries, prevented a pooling of sporting resources. The two Football League clubs and one rugby league club that emerged as a result are a living testament of the power of parochial rivalries and identities that were a mere three decades old in 1907. That such powerful identification arose so rapidly in a city, which itself had been little more than a market town at the start of the nineteenth century, and a significant proportion of whose population were immigrants, is remarkable.¹

It will be suggested that successful football club mergers, particularly after the 1890s, are rare across Britain. Examples of failed mergers in England and Scotland will be measured against events in Bradford with a view to drawing potential comparisons. It will be asked was there a change in sport and society between the 1890s and the early 1900s that hindered further mergers? A successful merger presented by Garnham and Jackson in Newcastle is

¹ Kennedy, 'The Split', pp.447-9. Kennedy noted the role Everton FC played in giving a similarly diverse population in Liverpool a sense of identity.

examined in an attempt to understand the factors, (e.g. timeframe, geography, communal history/identity) that differentiated it from the vast majority of mergers that were of an abortive nature.² Failed mergers it will be argued could result in a division of potential capital and support that could, particularly in medium sized towns and cities, result in sporting underperformance, especially in national competitions such as the Football League. Examples offered by Mellor in Bristol and Budd and Carter in Middlesbrough will be considered alongside Bradford's experience.³

When a merger between Bradford FC and Bradford City AFC was proposed in 1907, although finances were discussed in detail by the contemporary newspapers, it will be contended that it was communal identity and perceptions of status, as represented via loyalty to a sporting organisation, which posed the biggest hurdle to those wishing to merge Bradford's two main sporting organisations. It will be pondered as to whether the personality of Bradford FC's president, factory owner Harry Briggs, was an additional factor. Stepney contended that Briggs, as factory owner, used his position at Park Avenue to reinforce structures of power in wider society.⁴ The hostility

² Neal Garnham and Andrew Jackson, 'Who invested in Victorian football clubs? The case of Newcastle-upon-Tyne', *Soccer and Society*, 4:1 (2006), p.61.

³ Catherine Budd and Neil Carter, 'A Noble Game Became Degraded': The rise and fall of professional football in Middlesbrough, 1889-1894', *North East History Journal*, no. 45 (2014), pp.7-10; Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.233.

⁴ Paul Stepney, 'Towards a Politics of Football, the case of Bradford Park Avenue', Alan Tomlinson, ed., *Explorations in Football Culture* (Brighton: Brighton Polytechnic, 1983), p.116-17.

towards Briggs by the ordinary Manningham members will be considered against Stepney's argument. Taylor offers evidence of football club directors being actively involved in public life in their home towns and this argument will be factored into the debate.⁵

Although identity appears to have been the decisive factor during the debates, the strengths and weaknesses of Bradford City will be considered, in particular the imbalance between the club's impressive form on the field of play and the club's under capitalisation and short lease on its Valley Parade ground. It will be asked, did notions of identity and control override the inherent structural weaknesses of the club and if so why? The conclusion offered by Beaven that football gave working-class males a sense of communal identity that no other social citizenship had will be explored.⁶ Could parochial identities and rivalries, that were a mere three decades old, be so powerful?

As Bradford FC debated future paths there were constant references to the Northern Union reverting to at least the rules of the Rugby Union if not a complete rapprochement with the RFU itself. Given that poor financial returns in the Northern Union were deployed in the same debates a reversion

⁵ Taylor, *Leaguers*, pp.58-62.

⁶ Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, p.72.

to an amateur Rugby Union, which, partly by its definition, could not hope to generate the income required to service Bradford's overheads, appears to be a contradictory stance. Whether that represented unresolved issues within the club that dated back to rugby's great split in 1895, a nostalgia that harked back to Bradford's status as one of the leading rugby clubs of the 1880s or the adoption of a deliberately provocative stance in order to engineer an exit from the Northern Union will be debated.

Once Bradford FC opted to become a professional football club, as in the case of Manningham's metamorphosis into Bradford City, there does appear to have been a high degree of loyalty to club which appears to have been more important than what code of football was being played. It will be asked, was this reflective of Bradford's position as a multi-sport club, or was it driven by, in a similar way that could be applied to Manningham, a loosening of ties to the game of rugby in its entirety as a result of the conflicts aroused by the great split of 1895, or a pragmatic realisation that only football could pay the bills and potentially recapture Bradford's lost status as a high class organisation representing Bradford on a national stage?

Debates surrounding the election processes of the Football League will be returned to. Bradford (Park Avenue)'s initial rejection by the Football League and their single season in the Southern League prior to gaining election to the

Football League in 1908 will be used to raise questions such as: what consideration was given to protecting existing member clubs in light of previous debarment of new clubs within close proximity of a member club; did the election of Bradford (Park Avenue) cause conflict among, what Taylor's described as, the guardians of the Football League and the missionaries of football; did the use of the Southern League by Bradford (Park Avenue) as, arguably, a stepping stone into the Football League represent a fatal undermining of the Southern League's pretensions, if they seriously existed, of being a challenger to the supremacy of the Football League. Bradford (Park Avenue) was elected to the Football League in third place and by a mere two vote margin over the existing league club Lincoln City.⁷ In light of that, it will be asked: as the vote did not represent the overwhelming mandate received by Bradford City five years earlier and as such can it be presented as evidence of further, and deliberate, incursions into the heartland of the Northern Union, or is it further support for Taylor's conclusion that the spread of the Football League was piecemeal and *ad hoc*. Did the vote, with its rejection of Tottenham Hotspur, represent an anti-metropolitan element within the Football League?

⁷ The use of brackets in the name Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC was used by the club as a reminder that as plain Bradford FC they had been the city's leading sporting institution. The club placed BFC letters on the gables of its main stand as physical statement that, despite the rise of Bradford City, the Park Avenue club still claimed sporting supremacy in the city.

Did Bradford City's election into the Football League represent the first step onto, or even back onto, the national sporting stage and did the events of 1907 represent a full national engagement? Was sport in Bradford prevented from competing effectively because it was undermined by highly localised identities formed during the early development of Bradford as an industrial city and of popular spectator sport?

i Edwardian Bradford

Despite the changes to the staple worsted trade, and the fissures that were widening in local politics, particularly the continued emergence of the ILP, two events, the granting of city status in 1897 and the Bradford Exhibition of 1904, illustrate the great self-confidence Bradford enjoyed as it entered the new century. The Bradford Exhibition was opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales (the future King George V and Queen Mary) on 4 May 1904, the six month exhibition followed the format of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and counterparts held in many provincial towns and cities, notable examples being Bristol, Glasgow and Wolverhampton.⁸ Held in Lister Park, the centrepiece was a specially built 60,000 square foot Industrial Hall that displayed textile goods and machinery; engineering products including locomotion, sanitation, general and domestic; and a women's section. A large

⁸ Anne Bishop, 'Cartwright Memorial Hall and the Great Bradford Exhibition of 1904', *The Bradford Antiquary*, third series, volume four, pp.26-38; Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, pp.179-80.

concert hall offered orchestral bands, hand bell ringers, glee parties and military bands. It also accommodated an educational conference, a grocers' exhibition and conference and a schools' exhibition. In the park's grounds were a model hospital, botanical displays, a Somali village, Palace of Illusions, Crystal Maze and a shooting range. A motor launch and a real Venetian gondola shared the park lake with a naval spectacle that included scenes from the bombardment of Port Arthur, the siege of which was still an ongoing part of the Russo-Japanese War.⁹ The exhibition was an unqualified success with a total of 2,417,928 people passing through the gates and, given the heavy expenditure, the profit of £14,965 was viewed as satisfactory.¹⁰ Perhaps more importantly, the exhibition presented to the outside world, and indeed Bradford itself, a view of the city as industrious, respectable and self-confident. As Tristram Hunt wrote: 'Manchester, Bradford, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, as well as nineteenth-century London, constituted the vanguard of the modern city'.¹¹ Asa Briggs's concluded that Bradford was 'one of the most striking phenomena in the history of the British Empire'.¹² The journey from market town to one of the world's leading industrial cities was complete.

⁹ *City of Bradford Exhibition, catalogue of the works of art in the Cartwright Memorial Hall* (Bradford: Armitage & Ibbetson, 1904), pp.47-51; *Official Souvenir of the City of Bradford Cartwright Memorial Hall Exhibition, May to October 1904* (Bradford: Trotter & Co., 1904), passim; Firth, *History of Bradford*, p.110.

¹⁰ Bishop, 'Cartwright Memorial', pp.26-38.

¹¹ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, p.5.

¹² Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p.140.

ii 1907 and all that, the merger controversy

Throughout this thesis the emergence of sporting clubs as focal points of local pride and identity has been a reoccurring theme. Therefore, it is perhaps no surprise that successful football club mergers, in Britain at least, are notable by their rarity. Once club loyalties have been carefully constructed they are stubbornly difficult to unravel. This appears to be particularly the case from the 1900s onwards. This might suggest that sport, and its place in wider society, had become more stable and established during the early years of the twentieth century and this possibly reflects the fact that British industrial towns and cities had themselves arrived at a point in their development when rapid changes to the geography and population had stabilised allowing the emergence of a civic society.

Beaven claimed that football gave working-class males a sense of identity via 'notions of local patriotism' and 'attachments to the working-class's immediate environments'.¹³ As will be seen later in the chapter, an attachment to an immediate area, in this case the suburb of Manningham and its rugby and brief football heritage, was the crucial factor in the eventual rejection of a proposed merger of Bradford's two professional football clubs. As previously

¹³ Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, p.72.

noted Bradford's population growth brought people into the city from all corners of the British Isles. Beaven claimed that football fostered among diverse populations, such as Bradford's, an attachment to place that no other form of social citizenship had.¹⁴ The opposition to the merger of Bradford's two football clubs was driven by popular sentiment and is therefore supportive of Beaven's assertion that football's popularity was 'less to do with a manipulative ruling class than due to the process of socialisation and citizenship in the growing cities of the late nineteenth century'.¹⁵

The highly localised nature of football support in the decades prior to the Great War has been noted by several historians. Huggins and Tolson noted that particularly prior to the spread of tramways the majority of working-class supporters walked to home matches.¹⁶ Those supporters provided the backbone of the club's support and, as will be shown in this chapter, they could come to dominate and shape the self-image of the club. Even after the development of urban tramways cities such as Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield were as much divided as united by football loyalties. Kennedy demonstrated that the majority of shareholders in the Liverpool clubs of Bootle, Everton, Liverpool and Liverpool Caledonians

¹⁴ Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, p.80.

¹⁵ Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, pp.73-4.

¹⁶ Huggins & Tolson, 'Railways and Sport', p.108.

lived within a half-mile radius of their club's home ground and that a vast majority lived within one mile.¹⁷ This localism is the thread that explains and stitches together much of the events of this chapter. The fact that it was Victorian rugby that initiated the highly parochial support in Bradford is another example of the parallels between the culture and development of commercialised rugby and football across the north and midlands of England.

The history of mergers of football clubs can be broken into two distinct forms. The first is where two or more, usually localised, clubs come together to form a stronger organisation that allows the new club to compete on a regional or national stage. The second, and less successful, is when two clubs with an extant sense of history and identity attempt a merger in order to solve financial, organisational or structural issues of a permanent or temporary nature.

For example, in the first hundred years of the Scottish Football League there was only one merger between two clubs from the same town: Ayr and Ayr Parkhouse, who became Ayr United. Crampsey concluded 'in the clash of business rationalisation and sentiment which is forever at the heart of Scottish football, familial and tribal loyalties have effectively stopped such mergers'.¹⁸

¹⁷ Kennedy, 'Locality and Professional Football Club Development', p.372.

¹⁸ Crampsey, *Scottish Football League*, p.47.

The Ayr merger was successful because of an expanding first division and the town had more chance of gaining election with one strong side rather than two indifferent ones. A useful English example came in 1892 when two of Newcastle's leading football clubs found themselves in differing predicaments. Newcastle West End, although enjoying a long lease on their St James's Park ground, was in financial turmoil and results were poor. Newcastle East End had an excellent team but inadequate facilities. A merger was suggested, but the secretaries of both clubs opposed it. In May 1892 the West End club folded and East End took over the lease of St James's Park. However, subsequent attendances were poor as the former West End supporters refused to support East End and the East End supporters were unhappy with the location of St James's Park. The solution was found with a change of identity and a 'new' club, with the 'conciliatory' name of Newcastle United, was formed.¹⁹ In essence it was still Newcastle East End, but the name change was seemingly enough to overcome the resistance of both East End and West End supporters to attend games at St James's Park.²⁰

The difficulties of merging two clubs with stronger identities is illustrated by the 1919 proposed merger between Huddersfield Town and Leeds United, which ultimately floundered on the rocks of local pride and patriotism. Prior

¹⁹ Dixon, Garnham, Jackson, 'Shareholders and Shareholding', pp.506-07.

²⁰ Garnham and Jackson, 'Who invested in Victorian football clubs?', p.61.

to the 1920s football in Huddersfield struggled to attract support due to the continued popularity of rugby in the town and the presence of twelve professional rugby clubs and four professional football clubs within West Yorkshire.²¹ Huddersfield Town directors were considering moving the club to Leeds to replace Leeds City who had been expelled from the Football League after being found guilty of making illegal payments to guest players during the Great War. However, football enthusiasts in Leeds rapidly formed a new club, Leeds United. Impressed by the 'instant, feverish activity' the Huddersfield chairman suggested an amalgamation that would have seen the Leeds club replace Huddersfield in the Football League. While the amalgamation was unsurprisingly welcomed with open arms in Leeds, in Huddersfield opponents rallied the support of local dignitaries and, crucially, the town's newspaper, the *Huddersfield Examiner*. The campaign was centered around local identity and it galvanised support for Huddersfield Town. Attendances rose significantly and finance was raised via pledges in workplace and from individuals. The campaign persuaded the Football League to reject the amalgamation and the future of football in Huddersfield was secured.²²

²¹ Terry Frost, *Huddersfield Town, a complete record 1910-1990* (Derby: Breedon, 1990), p.12.

²² Forst, *Huddersfield Town*, pp.139-46.

The formation of two professional clubs in Middlesbrough illustrated the perils of splitting available capital and support in a medium sized town. The reasons for the formation of two clubs in Middlesbrough was very different to Bradford, Middlesbrough Ironopolis was formed in 1889 after Middlesbrough FC rejected professionalism. Initially, both clubs prospered which appeared to dispel doubts as to the sustainability of two clubs. However, Ironopolis folded only five years later when a combination of low crowds, increased travelling expenses that came with membership of the Football League and competition for support and finances from Middlesbrough FC rendered the club unsustainable.²³ A similar pattern emerged in Bristol. Despite being champions of the Southern League in 1904 Bristol Rovers was only able to attract crowds around the 5,000 mark. By contrast Bristol City's appearance in the 1909 FA Cup Final, which, perhaps crucially, represented success on a national scale, saw crowds in the tens of thousands at Ashton Gate. However, ultimately neither of the two Bristol clubs enjoyed the major success on the playing field that a big city such as Bristol might have expected.²⁴

In the case of Huddersfield and Leeds both football clubs had short histories and could not be described as being the sporting civic flag carriers of their

²³ Budd and Carter, 'A Noble Game Became Degraded', pp.7-10; Dixon, Garnham, Jackson, 'Shareholders and Shareholding', p.504.

²⁴ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, pp.233-4. Bristol City AFC was formed from the merger of two minor clubs, Bristol South End and Bedminster.

respective communities. When, in 1907, a merger was suggested between Bradford City and Bradford (Park Avenue), it sought to bring together two organisations that had fought for civic sporting supremacy since the 1880s. Throughout their previous incarnations as rugby clubs both had won major trophies and had attracted crowds in the tens of thousands. Bradford (Park Avenue) was formed partly due to frustration with the low social standing that competing in the Northern Union offered the once imperious Bradford club. The club enjoyed impressive facilities and a very strong sense of their history and identity. The ownership structure at Park Avenue was said to be dominated by factory owner Harry Briggs. A former Rugby Union player with the Bradford club, the chimney of his Briggella Mills was clearly visible from Park Avenue. He owned factories in Poland and Russia, saw mills in Hull, introduced Mr Rolls to Mr Royce and was later a director of Rolls Royce.²⁵ Stepney claimed that Briggs's involvement with Bradford FC was motivated by respect and honour he could gain from being at the helm of the city's leading sporting organisation.²⁶ The multi-dimensional role of football club directors in local life was, according the evidence offered by Taylor, a reoccurring theme and Briggs appears to be a fairly typical example.²⁷ Arnold noted Briggs was 'highly influential' in the running of Bradford FC and that,

²⁵ Sarah Dietz, *British Entrepreneurship in Poland, a case study of Bradford Mills at Marki near Warsaw, 1883-1939* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2015), p.30.

²⁶ Stepney, 'Towards a Politics', p.116-17.

²⁷ Taylor, *Leaguers*, pp.58-62.

across the city at Valley Parade, the Bradford City members were 'mistrustful' of the management structure at Park Avenue and Briggs' central, sometimes described as autocratic, role.²⁸ The hostility of the Bradford City members was probably driven by the rivalry between the two sporting organisations that had its roots in Victorian rugby. Whether there was a political or societal element is less certain. Stepney claimed that Briggs's role at Park Avenue 'reflected the structure of power in wider society' that reinforced the subordinate role of supporters.²⁹ Despite the fact that Manningham was the hub of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford criticism of Briggs by Bradford City supporters appeared to have centred around Briggs's overbearing influence on the direction of Bradford FC rather than anything overtly political. There is insufficient evidence to portray the relationship between Briggs and the Bradford City members as anything other than a sporting one.

At Valley Parade the adoption of football had placed Bradford City on a national stage. They were poised for promotion to the first division and thereby firmly out of the shadow of their neighbours at Park Avenue. A merger of two such organisations was always likely to meet serious and sustained opposition. The merger proposal of 1907 helps illustrate how

²⁸ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, pp.57-8.

²⁹ Stepney, 'Towards a Politics', p.117.

important sport had become in Edwardian Bradford and how it represented individual and communal identity in both a localised and civic sense. It might also represent sport in Bradford moving fully onto a national footing and, in some respects, catching up with the city of Bradford itself which had decades earlier moved from a localised economy to one that encompassed the national and international.

Rumours of a merger between the Park Avenue based Bradford FC and Bradford City AFC surfaced as early as September 1905. Although they were denied by the City committee, it prompted the *Bradford Daily Argus* to note 'the thousands of City followers up Manningham way would set up a perfect howl of opposition'. It went on to say that if the Park Avenue club wanted football 'let them launch forth on their own'.³⁰ From the first the debate was being driven by identities formed by Victorian rugby rivalries. The passions behind those identities were vividly displayed at a special meeting of Bradford City members held at Drummond Road School. It was dominated by the rumours of a move to Park Avenue. One speaker said to applause 'the Bradford City club would never go to Park Avenue'. Another claimed that 'there was a desire on the part of some people to take the club to Park Avenue'. Committee member Herbert Firth attempted to bring calm by stating unequivocally that 'every member of the committee was deadly

³⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 9 Sept. 1905.

opposed to the removal of the club from Manningham'. The former Manningham rugby player Rob Pocock summed up the mood by saying to laughter 'if someone proposed that they hang the entire committee he would second it'.³¹ The comment that the club would not be 'removed from Manningham' indicates that, despite switching sports to become Bradford City AFC, the identity of the club was still strongly anchored to the club's rugby past and, in particular, its geographical home in Manningham. Despite moving onto a national sporting stage, and thus supposedly becoming the city of Bradford's sporting representative, a sense of localised identity would prove decisive in the coming debates.

A series of letters had appeared in the press stating that the Park Avenue club was willing to spend £5,000 to set up a professional football team. It later transpired that Bradford FC director Fred Lister had penned the letters. He came under fire at the club's AGM. Lister revealed that the entire committee was aware of the contents of the letters. He had already resigned his post of president of the Northern Union as a result. He tried to defuse the hostility of the AGM saying that he had written the letters for another man who had bad handwriting. The excuse was met with derision and despite further questions Lister refused to comment further. The letters were probably designed to exert pressure on the Bradford City committee and supporters. A three month

³¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 11 Aug. 1906.

rolling lease on City's Valley Parade ground, allied to the engineering challenge of developing the steeply sloping site, forced the City committee to inspect potential sites for a new ground at Burnett Fields, off Manchester Road and Briggella Mills, Little Horton Lane. The latter was owned by Bradford FC chairman Harry Briggs. When he attended Bradford City's game with Glossop North End in October, it sent the rumour mill into overdrive.³² The *Bradford Daily Argus* summed up the state of the debate:

If only the old parochial sentiment of 'Manningham' could be forgotten and the club merged with Bradford, the course of events would lead straightaway to success equalling anything known in the past.³³

On the final day of the year the newspaper claimed an exclusive by revealing that, after two years of rumour, the Bradford club was poised to quit rugby in favour of football. Bradford FC had debts of £500 and that they had told the Northern Union that they would leave unless the former Rugby Union laws were reinstated.³⁴ However, given the significant overheads that the extensive Park Avenue grounds placed on the club, and the fact that a reversion to Rugby Union laws was unlikely to attract new spectators, it is likely that the

³² *Bradford Daily Argus*, 14 Oct. 1905.

³³ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 29 Dec. 1906.

³⁴ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 31 Dec. 1906.

club already had one foot outside the Northern Union and may have been engineering a dispute in order to justify their departure. The Lancashire clubs in particular were extremely hostile to a reversion to Rugby Union rules and thus the stance of Bradford made a departure from the Northern Union almost inevitable. The *Bradford Daily Argus* said that Bradford FC had been ready to make the switch at the start of the current season, but opposition at the annual general meeting had prevented it. Apparently, committee members Briggs, Lister and Shepherd had been sounding out members' views and that had been instrumental in postponing the decision. Harry Briggs had several meetings with Bradford City president Alfred Ayrton, but they had failed to reach an agreement to merge the two clubs. Briggs therefore appointed the former Bradford City secretary-manager Robert Campbell to act as a consultant for the formation of a new football club.

Bradford Northern Union FC required attendances of 7,000 to remain solvent. The *Bradford Daily Argus* revealed that Bradford had already lost £500 on the season and that was projected to double by the season's end. Never had the prospects for rugby looked so grim. However, despite the hefty mortgage on the ground, the property assets on the Park Avenue estate were such that it was thought that sufficient funds could be found to set up a professional football team. The Bradford FC committee was convinced that the quality of a

bid for Football League membership would be such that it would overcome the reluctance to have two Bradford clubs in the second division.

On the first day of 1907 Harry Briggs then gave an interview in which he denied any intention to set up a professional football club. In a statement that appeared to fly in the face of all the evidence he said:

The committee have not discussed the question of Association [football] at all and on no account would we think of running an Association team. With us it is a question of whether we continue to play rugby or give up all together. We certainly cannot continue as we are doing longer than the end of the season. It is difficult to say what will be done if there is no reversion to the old Rugby [Union] rules. The Bradford club then must certainly give up the Northern Union game. It is impossible to say whether we should be an amateur team. But, the ground would not be lying idle. We should let it to anybody who wanted it and that would be better than running the ground at a loss.³⁵

A few days later an open letter to Bradford City appeared in the press. Penned by 'Criticus' it appealed for City to take a broad view when considering an

³⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 1 Jan. 1907.

amalgamation.³⁶ The letter was the opening shot in the amalgamation fight and almost certainly was written by a Bradford committee member. The response was immediate. Mr Simpson of Jesmond Avenue said: 'Amalgamation of the two clubs is impossible as the old Manningham sentiment still strongly prevails'. He went on 'two clubs could not possibly be made to pay. Bradford should either adopt Rugby Union or let the ground to Bradford City'.³⁷ The following Saturday Charles Sutcliffe of the Football League management committee attended Bradford City's FA Cup tie against Reading and commented:

There will soon be soccer at Park Avenue and I venture that Bradford City will supply the football desired. Until then they must be satisfied to plug away at Valley Parade, which some day will be regarded as a mere matchbox ground, for the City people are all ambition and enthusiasm. And it is enthusiasm with a vengeance.³⁸

On 14 January 1907 the Bradford property and finance committee met. They had taken a meagre £28 on the gate for the visit of Huddersfield to Park Avenue in the Northern Union, whilst across the city 18,000 had witnessed

³⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 8 Jan. 1907.

³⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 10 Jan. 1907.

³⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 14 Jan. 1907.

Bradford City's 2-0 FA Cup victory over Reading. They discussed several future paths: seek alterations to the rules of the Northern Union game to make it more like the Rugby Union of old; continue with Northern Union working closely with the junior game in the city; form a professional football club.³⁹ Nine days later at a meeting of the Northern Union clubs, Bradford was alone in voting for a return to Rugby Union rules. It is difficult to fully explain Bradford's repeated demands for a return to Rugby Union rules. Perhaps it reflected their own history as the leading club during the 1880s when those rules were in situ. Did they imagine that a reversion to Rugby Union rules, and a potential rapprochement with the RFU, would bring back the crowds to Park Avenue, or was this the engineering of a dispute that would be impossible to resolve, thus leaving the way clear for a departure from the Northern Union and the establishment of a professional football club? In the wake of the meeting Harry Briggs issued an ultimatum that strongly suggests that the club was set on a path outside the Northern Union:

If the Northern Union authorities do not revert to the Rugby Union game by the end of the season, we must sever our connection with the Northern Union. Since 1903 there has been a steady decrease of public support, amounting to some 50% and this season average gates of £39 have resulted in a £500 loss so far. We have been saved from actual loss

³⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 15 Jan. 1907.

in the intervening years by good fortune in the cup, but that is too precarious a source upon which to stake the existence of an institution like Park Avenue. There is a mortgage debt of some £6,000 upon the estate, and probably when the term is up, the mortgagees will call in the money. We shall have to raise the money and in all likelihood a large interest will be charged for re-borrowing the sum. It would be ruinous to go on increasing our liabilities in connection with a game which the public, here at any rate, will not support.⁴⁰

The Bradford committee sent out a circular appealing for help, it said:

In view of the serious financial position of the football section, and the lack of support extended at present by the public, the committee would be exceedingly pleased to have your views as to what policy you think most advisable for the management to adopt, or to consider any suggestions you may care to submit. The officials are more than anxious to maintain the prestige of the club, together with the assistance and support of the members, and your reply, per return of post, if convenient, will be esteemed.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 24 Jan. 1907.

⁴¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 7 Feb. 1907.

The response was immediate. Sixty people 'of all shades of rugby opinion' met at the Osbourne Hotel on 7 February 1907. There was a general consensus that the Bradford committee had not made the best of the opportunities offered by the Northern Union game. There was reportedly little enthusiasm for a return to Rugby Union among the supporters, so a committee of seven were elected hold talks with the club's committee.⁴² The outcome of the meeting with the club was not reported in the newspapers, but a few days later the supporters met again and they decided to attempt to convene a meeting of Bradford CA&FC guinea members, to pass a resolution to restore voting rights for the half-guinea members.⁴³ The hope, presumably, was that the popular vote would back the retention of Northern Union rugby at Park Avenue.

However, the old guard was gathering support for a reversion to Rugby Union. The former Bradford FC favourite Tom Broadley hosted a meeting at his home on 10 March 1907. He thought that the RFU should have been more conciliatory towards the northern clubs during the great split of 1895 and he sensed an opportunity to bring the Park Avenue club back into the Rugby Union fold. His former team mates Fred Bonsor and Laurie Hickson also gave public backing for a return to the old game. That view received strong

⁴² *Bradford Daily Argus*, 8 Feb. 1907, 13 Feb. 1907.

⁴³ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 27 Feb. 1907.

support when Syd Wray, the honourable secretary of the Yorkshire Rugby Union, proposed that Bradford return to the fold. However, he did stress that, at the moment, there was no official backing for the move.⁴⁴ However, Hickson told the local press that he had received:

Most encouraging communications from leading officials. It was not unlikely that they would be able to obtain the north v south match of next season and most, if not all, county matches.⁴⁵

Even if such promises had any substance, the associated costs of maintaining the extensive Park Avenue grounds would have been difficult to meet for a reformed Rugby Union club. The *Athletic News*, while agreeing that there was ‘certainly room for a good amateur rugby club in Bradford’, doubted ‘whether such a club could successfully flourish if saddled with the dimensions of Park Avenue’.⁴⁶ A further hurdle was that before Bradford could be allowed back into the Rugby Football Union, the entire Bradford committee would be expected to resign as a first step towards reinstatement. Bradford committee member Fred Lister not surprisingly dismissed the proposal as ‘retrograde and not likely to be attended with financial success’. He went onto say that

⁴⁴ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 14 Mar. 1907.

⁴⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 16 Apr. 1907.

⁴⁶ *Athletic News*, 22 Apr. 1907.

the 200 replies to the circular sent out to members had been 'four to one in favour of association football'. He also commented that a scheme drawn up by Harry Briggs and Major Shepherd to expand Park Avenue to accommodate 50,000 spectators, was so compelling that any amalgamation proposal with Bradford City was bound to be favourably received at Valley Parade.⁴⁷ The *Bradford Daily Argus* commented that the most significant development thus far was that the proposal to convene a meeting in order to bring back voting rights for the half-guinea members was still lying idle on the Bradford committees table.⁴⁸ The implication was that the Bradford committee did not want the option of remaining part of the Northern Union to be available.

Bradford City's fabulous form at the end of the 1906-7 season had left the Valley Parade faithful in great heart. Promotion to the first division seemed a real possibility; some were describing it as a certainty. Huge crowds had packed Valley Parade and there seemed to be no end in sight to the football boom in the city. What a contrast at Park Avenue? For so long used to being the dominant club, both locally and regionally, crowds were dwindling and the Park Avenue ground, for so long the proud symbol of the Bradford club, was increasingly a financial liability.

⁴⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 16 Apr. 1907.

⁴⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 16 Apr. 1907.

In such a climate, many said why should Bradford City even consider amalgamation? City's weakness was the short lease on Valley Parade. They did own the land that formed over half Nunn's Kop, but it was mortgaged at £1,300, the remainder of the ground was on a three month rolling lease from the Midland Railway Company. Unless, a long lease could be agreed, the financial case for the huge investment the ground needed to host first division football was difficult to make. As has been seen the club had been actively looking at alternatives throughout 1906, but none had proved suitable.⁴⁹ An amalgamation with Bradford FC would provide Bradford City with virtually a readymade ground. However, if both clubs existing mortgages were added together, and the costs of expanding Park Avenue for first division football added on, something in the order of £12,000 would be required to get the new venture off the ground. While the debate raged, Bradford City director John Nunn arranged for the architect who had developed Anfield and Elland Road to draw up a plan to improve Valley Parade. The plan costing £4,000 envisaged a capacity of 35,000.⁵⁰

On Monday 15 April 1907 the guinea members of Bradford FC met at the bowling green pavilion. The Lord Mayor of Bradford, J.A. Godwin, president Bradford FC, chaired the meeting. He was no dispassionate chairman, as in

⁴⁹ Pendleton, *Paraders*, p.33.

⁵⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 13 Apr. 1907.

his opening address he said that in his day they had 'played for the game and not for the gate'. W.H. Fitzgerald asked the chairman whether the outcome of the evenings meeting would be 'taken as final?' After consulting with the committee the mayor said the result would indeed be 'final and binding'.⁵¹ The accounts of the club were examined and showed a steady decline. In 1903-4 there had been a profit of £702, in 1904-5 it had fallen to £66. President Harry Briggs missed the meeting due to a 'medical condition'. In a letter to the members he said that attendances had halved and only good fortune in the cup had saved the club for heavy losses. In a blistering attack on the Northern Union he said the rules and formation of the leagues were 'so constantly altered, that it was difficult for spectators to know what was happening'. He went on 'with the advent of association football in our city, the spectators had been drawn from rugby'. In a swipe at the Northern Union reminiscent of the attacks made in the days after the rugby split of 1895, Briggs said that at Valley Parade spectators 'were able to witness a good clean game of football.' Briggs concluded by stating that only football could make Park Avenue a financial success. This tallies with Stepney's conclusion that the subsequent formation of Bradford (Park Avenue) FC was 'largely a commercial decision'.⁵²

⁵¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 16 Apr. 1907.

⁵² Stepney, 'Towards a Politics', p.116.

With the presence of former Bradford City president Alfred Ayrton in the audience, the obvious question was soon posed. Whether any agreement, or even any overtures, had been made with Bradford City? The lord mayor, after consulting with the committee, said 'no overtures have been made and I do not think we should complicate this question with the idea of any amalgamation'. Another member asked if the committee had considered forming their own professional football team at Park Avenue, instead of an amalgamation with City? Major Shepherd replied 'there is no attempt, at present, to try and get into the second league'.

There appeared to be little consensus among the members, as was highlighted by the opening motions. Mr Thackrey moved a motion that as this was the first season the club had ever had a deficit, they should go on in the Northern Union for another season. He added it was madness to attempt an amalgamation with Bradford City. Mr C. Clarke supported the motion. He thought it was wrong to abandon Northern Union because of one year's losses. J.W. Smeeth moved a counter proposal that the Northern Union game should 'not be played in Bradford'. A. Gregson seconding said 'theirs was the "Bradford" club and should be made successful'. Though he added, 'but if they could amalgamate with the City club, so much the better'.

R.H. Rawson speaking in support of the Northern Union alleged that 'the committee does not wish to make this season a favourable one'. To general uproar he added that 'receipts were down due to a lack of enthusiasm on part of the committee who were frightened of the press'. Laurie Hickson, who had resigned his membership of the Bradford club on the very day they had joined the Northern Union, asked if 'they had ever seen a good game of Northern Union?' 'Thousands' shouted one member; another cried 'you've never been!' The Rev J Leighton supported Hickson saying that 'if they returned to pure rugby' he was sure it would succeed. The exchanges reveal that, twelve years after rugby's great split, the issue of professionalism in rugby was still divisive. By contrast professionalism was barely mentioned when the adoption of football was debated. The issue was only raised a few days after the meeting by a letter writer in the press commenting that should Rugby Union be readopted:

Will it be essential to disinfect the ground at Park Avenue caused by constant contact with Northern Unionism? Will any of the common crowd be permitted to admire the great combinations? Will steps be taken to fence the football enclosure from the cricket field to prevent any professional cricketers from stepping upon the sacred precincts?⁵³

⁵³ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 18 Apr. 1907.

W.H. Fitzgerald requested that the meeting be postponed until a meeting of all Bradford members could be arranged. He thought it wrong that only the guinea members were being allowed to vote on the future of the club. After consultation the lord mayor said that legally the constitution of the club was in the hands of the guinea members alone and ruled the request out of order. The membership of the club was broken up into three sections: 500 guinea members, 200 half-guinea members and 130 life members (it could be argued that the membership was elitist, judged on fees). Fitzgerald had led the deputation of supporters that had asked for the entire membership to be allowed to vote some weeks earlier. However, the request was still gathering dust on the committee table which is further support for Stepney's claim that the ordinary supporters was 'taken for granted'.⁵⁴

With the speeches and pleas made, three options were put forward:

Continue another season of the Northern Union game?

To go back to Rugby Union?

Adopt the Association game?

⁵⁴ Stepney, 'Towards a Politics', p.117.

The votes were taken on a show of hands. The motion to stay with the Northern Union was well supported, but to contemptuous cries, not a single committee member backed the proposal. The motion to revert to Rugby Union attracted a minority, until Fitzgerald shouted 'rugby of any kind' which encouraged a majority to show their hands. The motion to switch to football attracted less votes than both rugby votes combined. J.W. Snowden moved that the meeting be adjourned until the Bradford City committee had been approached, but his appeal was dismissed. J.E. Russell asked if the meeting could be postponed until members were supplied with voting papers? It was also rejected. To gain some much needed clarity, a proposal that a vote should be taken on whether the club should adopt rugby or football was agreed. A considerable majority voted in favour of rugby. With that settled, a further vote was taken, Rugby Union or Northern Union? When a sizeable majority voted for a reversion to Rugby Union, the mayor pronounced 'the old game has it'.⁵⁵

So after an exhaustive meeting, the members had decided that the club should abandon the Northern Union and return to Rugby Union. Any thoughts of adopting football had been comprehensively defeated. Democracy had run its course and the amalgamation with Bradford City was off. However, the very next day Bradford FC chairman Harry Briggs told the local press that the

⁵⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 16 Apr. 1907.

outcome of the meeting was 'illegal'.⁵⁶ He said the meeting was there simply to consider and recommend a course of action. Briggs also said that the Hickson motion to rejoin the Rugby Union had not been seconded. However, everyone at the meeting assumed that Rev Leighton had seconded Hickson's motion. Briggs revealed he had met Rev Leighton whilst out driving and had said to him 'you have ruined the Bradford club'. The Reverend replied 'I'm afraid so'. Briggs was determined to meet with the club's solicitor at the soonest. He was satisfied that under the circumstances, he was justified in the interests of the club and the wider community of Bradford in taking action against what he saw as a 'ruinous departure'. Briggs said he would call a further meeting and ballot all the clubs members, so the ultimate decision would truly represent the club. He would then be happy to accept the result of that ballot. Going onto the conduct of the meeting Briggs said, 'the mayor had not quite realised the importance of the three points of issue'. Briggs pressed on stating that the lord mayor should have adjourned the meeting regarding the points made by Russell and Snowden. Briggs claimed that 'not only did some members voted for both codes [of rugby], but some held up both hands'. It was an astonishing attack on the chairmanship of the meeting by the lord mayor. Widening his criticism, Briggs thought that many at Valley Parade 'would be glad at the turn of events', but cautioned against any triumphalism by stating that 'Park Avenue must inevitably regain its

⁵⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 17 Apr. 1907.

preeminence in the city'. He was however, 'agreeable that if football was decided on, there should be an amalgamation with Bradford City. But, if City approached negotiations with the assumption that Bradford must be bottom dog he would advocate that Bradford go in [to football] on their own'. Diplomacy evidently was not Briggs's strongest point. His statement about attitudes among the Bradford City fans may well have been accurate, but by publicly airing them, he practically gifted the opponents to the merger with an abundance of ammunition.

The *Bradford Daily Argus* commented that it seemed odd that a gathering of illustrious citizens, including two reverends, several councillors, overseen by none other than the lord mayor, had managed to hold an 'illegal' meeting.⁵⁷ Apparently, the fact that only the finance and property committee was able to call a meeting of members had only been noticed after the meeting and its unexpected outcome. The writer concluded that only dignified course of action was for the entire committee to resign. Harry Briggs responded by saying that 'the meeting was convened to consider the advisability of restoring the vote of the half guinea members and to consider the future policy of the club'.

⁵⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 17 Apr. 1907.

On 18 April Bradford FC's Harry Briggs and Horace Geldard met Bradford City chairman Col. Armitage. Before any amalgamation could proceed, Armitage said they would require an assurance that plans to expand Park Avenue would go ahead. The *Bradford Daily Argus* overflowed with optimism:

Quite apart from mere local sentiment, there is a desire to settle on eminently reasonable lines. It may almost be written that there will be Bradford City at Park Avenue next season and a Bradford club in the first division within two years.⁵⁸

That 'mere local sentiment' was soon in evidence. The *Bradford Daily Argus* was reporting a 'spirit of keen resentment' among Bradford City members. Some recalled that there was no talk of forming a 'town club' to rescue Manningham when they were heavily in debt.⁵⁹ The widespread view was that Bradford FC was jealous of Bradford City's success and wanted to swallow Bradford City up. Bradford FC would overnight be rescued from years of muddle and be transformed into one of the leading football teams in the land. A hard core of Bradford City fans even talked of forming a new football club at Valley Parade if the amalgamation went ahead.

⁵⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 18 Apr. 1907.

⁵⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 23 Apr. 1907.

A series of letters hostile to the amalgamation appeared in the local press. 'It is the old spirit of lordly Park Avenue and lowly Valley Parade' railed one correspondent. Another said, 'however distasteful it maybe to the Bradford club, at present City is the top dog and Bradford the bottom dog. Unless that fact is fully recognised it is useless to talk of amalgamation'. One letter writer even signed his letter 'Yorkshire Valley Parade forever'.⁶⁰ The following day City chairman Col. Armitage acknowledged the 'feeling of animosity of some of the old Manningham FC members towards any amalgamation with Bradford'. He did promise however that the committee would remain 'open minded' when receiving any proposal from Bradford. The minority of Bradford City members who were in favour of amalgamation wanted Park Avenue expanded to hold 50,000 and for the entire Bradford committee to be barred from the management of the amalgamated club for five years.

The members of the once mighty Bradford club felt humbled by its spectacular fall from grace. The *Bradford Daily Argus'* Bradford FC correspondent berated the committee:

They are courting indignity, and even ignominy, by an amalgamation proposal which can never be carried, and they are prepared to bow so lowly as to let Park Avenue to Bradford City with not a shred of

⁶⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 23 Apr. 1907.

Bradford pride remaining. They have grossly mismanaged affairs and supporters are seeking to know what really is that game?⁶¹

Relations between the two Bradford clubs were placed under further strain when Bradford's Rev Leighton labeled Bradford City's professional players as 'imported aliens'. The attitude of the Bradford City committee was, under severe pressure, hardening. It was reported that they were bound from common courtesy to listen to Bradford FC's offer, but several Bradford City directors were reported to be extremely reluctant to even listen. Bradford City's three month lease on Valley Parade was becoming one of the main topics of the amalgamation debate. Their landlords, the Midland Railway, was thought to be now more likely to give Bradford City a long lease, on the grounds that if Bradford City left Valley Parade, considerable traffic would be transferred to their rivals the Great Northern, as the Park Avenue ground was served by the their Horton Park station. The Midland was in constant contact with Bradford Corporation as its bill for a Bradford through line was making its way through Parliament. Several prominent councillors with strong links to Bradford City were reportedly being lobbied hard to influence the Midland Railway Company.⁶² The old Manningham FC player Rob Pocock spoke in his

⁶¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 23 Apr. 1907.

⁶² *Bradford Daily Argus*, 2 May 1907.

usual forceful style about the tough struggle the club been through to get to its current status:

When we were losing money and in a tight corner, we didn't scream for amalgamation. We had sewing meetings, a bazaar and we got out of debt. Then we had some more bad luck, and we got into debt again, but there was no talk of amalgamation. Park Avenue didn't offer to help us out. We promoted a shooting match and got out of debt again. Now we have got a successful game, and we are doing well, they want us to go to Park Avenue.⁶³

Into May 1907 opposition to the amalgamation was becoming even stronger among Bradford City members. The financial implications came under scrutiny. The standing charges at Park Avenue were £568 per year with a £7,000 mortgage. At least £4,000 was required to expand Park Avenue. Bradford City's liabilities could be cleared for £2,000, add the cost of expanding Park Avenue and, with the mortgage doubled, the standing charge of a merged club at Park Avenue was likely to be £800 per year. Those hefty repayments, added doubts as to whether a club based at Park Avenue could become a limited company, had to be weighed against the short lease at Valley Parade and Bradford City's £2,000 liabilities. The *Bradford Daily Argus* said:

⁶³ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 27 Apr. 1907.

Whether at Valley Parade, or at the Clock House Estate, when it comes to floating a company with £10,000 capital is not a matter of concern at the present. It is quite sufficient for City to jog along for a year or two until it has gradually wiped out its present [£2,000] liabilities.⁶⁴

Two days later a deputation from Bradford FC formally met with their Bradford City counterparts at the Artillery Barracks.⁶⁵ No definite offer was made, but Bradford City would retain control of the football team itself for a period until complete amalgamation. Though no official comments were forthcoming, the Bradford City committee was apparently unimpressed. Three alternatives faced the Bradford City committee.

1. Obtain a long lease at Valley Parade
2. Amalgamate with Park Avenue
3. Develop a new ground – Ingleby Road and Hill Lane were under consideration

⁶⁴ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 2 May 1907.

⁶⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 4 May 1907.

On 6 May 1907 the Bradford FC committee decided to definitely adopt football, even if the amalgamation scheme failed.⁶⁶ Harry Briggs said there was no time for the membership to be consulted as the deadline for applications for Football League membership was 17 May 1907. The Bradford City defender Fred Halliday was appointed manager of a club that did not have a place in any league, no players and possibly not even a future. Meanwhile across the city, after much lobbying from 'prominent citizens' the Midland Railway made a statement regarding the Valley Parade lease that only added to the uncertainty. At the present it was impossible for them to give a definite answer as to whether the Valley Parade land would be required for the through line. However, they did give an assurance that they would not disturb Bradford City for at least three years.⁶⁷

With Bradford FC seemingly set on an application for Football League membership, the sudden reopening of negotiations on 10 May was greeted by scepticism. One commentator said, 'talk of Bradford's favourable prospects of election to the Football League is obviously a bluff'. The Bradford City directors discussed the latest proposals for over two hours. It was decided that the proposals would be put before a meeting of City members on 27 May 1907. The proposal said that the new organisation would be called Bradford

⁶⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 7 May 1907.

⁶⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 8 May 1907.

City, Cricket, Athletic and Football Club. The finance and property committee would authorise an expansion of Park Avenue. Management of football would be left with the existing Bradford City committee until their term of office expired. Then all members of the new club would be entitled to vote new officials onto the football committee. Valley Parade would be retained for three years, unless its disposal was approved by the football committee. Bradford FC would tentatively go ahead with plans for a new club, in case the amalgamation was rejected by the Bradford City members. The Bradford City committee stressed that although they had agreed to place the plan before the Bradford City members, it did not amount to formal support for the scheme.⁶⁸

Harry Briggs gave an interview on 14 May. He said Park Avenue could accommodate 27,000 as it stood and, by using the space behind the rugby posts, another 6,000 could be accommodated for an expenditure of £50. In the future the removal of the twenty-year-old football pavilion would leave room for a large main stand. Asked whether he was being blinded by sentiment given his family connections with Park Avenue, Briggs denied it saying:

I look at this as a business matter. Here we have one of the best grounds in the country, a ground well adapted and reputed for other sports as well as football. The City team is one which should go forward into the

⁶⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 11 May 1907.

first division, and they will need such a ground and such means of extension as there are at Park Avenue. We have offered to sacrifice the name of Bradford and have agreed that the club at Park Avenue be called Bradford City. It is a great task to win over the section of the club which keeps alive the old Manningham sentiment, but I have faith in this amalgamation. If there were two clubs in the city, one or other would inevitably take the lead, and it would be bad for the other. It would not be good for either. I may say this, and this is no threat, that once Bradford enter upon such a project as this we do not go back. If amalgamation should fail we shall go on. Our chance of getting a place in the second division is distinctly good.⁶⁹

The former Manningham FC captain Billy Fawcett urged Bradford City members not to be cowed by the choices facing them. He wrote:

We are today in a better position than we have ever been since the ground was first made in 1886. We have struggled through years of hard work and anxiety, and now when we are better than ever before, we are asked to join the very club who could never scarcely 'thoil' us our very existence. They even threaten us with saying that they can easily buy themselves in the second division. Can they? They have always had a

⁶⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 14 May 1907.

big opinion of their importance. The association will not have forgotten the opportunity, which Park Avenue had some years ago, when they had the nucleus of a good soccer team at Park Avenue. Ask the leading sockerites in Bradford at the time what kind of treatment they received at the hands of the Bradford club!⁷⁰

The barricades had been well and truly manned. A 'Valley Parade Defence Committee' organised a series of public meetings across the city. The first took place on 14 May 1907 at the Clarion Rooms at Whetley Hill.⁷¹ There was heavy official backing for the anti-amalgamation party, with committee members Ike Newton, William Pollack, Arthur Lancaster, John Nunn and John Lucas in attendance. John Nunn said he had:

Seen the expert [Archibald Leitch] who had constructed the Chelsea and Fulham grounds and had taken him to Valley Parade. The expert's opinion was that the ground could be made to hold 66,000 persons standing and 4,000 sitting' (cheers). He had taken him to Park Avenue to see Mr Briggs, but the Bradford chairman was not there, nor would he get the plans of the ground. The expert however was disappointed with

⁷⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 14 May 1907.

⁷¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 14 May 1907.

the ground and said he could not see how the accommodation could be increased by more than 4,000.⁷²

Ike Newton, another former Manningham player, said to loud cheers 'it was not amalgamation, but confiscation'. B. Brooke pledged that before he would see the club taken to Park Avenue he would work 'hard for the success of the flotation scheme'. This, he believed, would be far better from a financial point of view than a hefty mortgage debt.⁷³ The Valley Parade Defence Committee announced that Billy Fawcett's letter to the *Bradford Daily Argus*, along with several other articles, would be reproduced as a leaflet and sent to every member.

Although an influential element of Bradford City members lived in Manningham, since the conversion to football the club had attracted supporters from all over the city and even beyond. As was identified by one letter writer to the *Bradford Daily Argus*:

It was high time City directors and the so-called Manningham sentimentalists took up a more statesman like attitude and looked at it from the standpoint of what is the policy to adopt to secure the ultimate

⁷² *Bradford Daily Argus*, 15 May 1907.

⁷³ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 15 May 1907.

advantage and success of the club, for its present and future members and the association game in the city generally. Let the directors go in for the strong policy of unity and don't be over-influenced by the so-called Manningham sentiment. Which to people outside the Manningham area is beginning to be looked upon more as an object of pity than admiration. Should not the club have been named Manningham City and not Bradford City?⁷⁴

Two days later the second of the Valley Parade Defence Committee meetings took place at the Co-Operative Hall, Shipley.⁷⁵ Once again vigorous speeches were made against the amalgamation. Alfred Ayrton was to have addressed the gathering, but domestic reasons kept him away. His plea that opponents of the scheme turn up in full force at the forthcoming meeting of Bradford City members was read out. The popular mood was expressed in a letter to the local press in which 'Valleyite' hoped that 'the City members will vote against the Valley Grabbers'. The Defence Committee met again at Otley Road School on 22 May. Bradford City's balance sheet had been published the same day and it showed that the total standing charges at Valley Parade were £124 per year, as opposed to a projected £800 at Park Avenue. A share scheme was once again offered as an alternative to amalgamation. The object of the first

⁷⁴ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 16 May 1907.

⁷⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 18 May 1907.

issue of shares was to clear City's £2,000 liabilities and leave a working capital of £1,500. To loud applause the chairman of the Defence Committee J.E. Blakeborough said 'it has to be borne in mind that the Park Avenue committee is an autocratic body which has proved that it has the power to do what it likes, irrespective of a decision of the members of the club'.⁷⁶ The *Bradford Observer* challenged the standing charge figures quoted at the Otley Road meeting.⁷⁷ It claimed that at present they were almost identical, £251 at Valley Parade and £253 at Park Avenue. If Bradford City's liabilities were paid off and Park Avenue improved by increasing Bradford FC's existing mortgage by £8,000 the standing charges would rise to £570 and not the £800 quoted at the meeting. It went on to state a new ground would cost City £12,000, which would result in a standing charge of £800.

The final Valley Parade Defence Committee meeting was held at Drummond Road School on 24 May.⁷⁸ The 600 members present were reminded that the school stood on the site of their former Carlisle Road ground, where the likes of 'Pongo' Richmond and J.J. Hawcrige had built the reputation of the Manningham club. The £12,000 quoted as the cost of a new ground in the *Bradford Observer* was ridiculed. Blakeborough wondered to laughter whether

⁷⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 23 May 1907.

⁷⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 24 May 1907.

⁷⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 25 May 1907.

they would be having 'silver mounted stands and gold goal posts?' Leeds City had developed Elland Road at a cost of £7,000 and City's current stand could be transported at little cost.⁷⁹

The evening of the 27 May 1907 saw the culmination of the amalgamation saga. Around 1,500 Bradford City members packed Westgate Hall to vote on the proposal. With emotions running high it was a brave man who stood up to speak in favour of the amalgamation. Thomas Paton said that for the time being a 30,000 capacity would be sufficient at Park Avenue and that the overall standing charges would be £100 per year. Despite constant interruptions, he told the members 'if they rejected the scheme of amalgamation, that responsibility would be permanently be with them.' Mr B. Brooke opposing the scheme said, 'he knew for a fact that the Bradford committee had met on Friday night and everyone voted against the amalgamation except Mr Briggs.' John Nunn and Ike Newton both said they would resign if the club moved to Park Avenue. The former Manningham FC favourite Rob Pocock jumped onto a chair and tried to address the meeting. The chairman Col. Armitage said to laughter 'I'm afraid you are offside again Rob'. The vote was taken and unsurprisingly a large majority rejected the amalgamation. Against were 1,031, for 487, the majority was 544.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 25 May 1907.

⁸⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 28 May 1907.

The fiery eloquence won the day. Perhaps with some justification the Bradford City members distrusted Harry Briggs's motives. However, it was the strong identity of the old Manningham club that had ultimately killed the amalgamation scheme. The reminders of continuity and use of rugby history to oppose the merger is arguably illustrative of the forces that underpinned the opposition. As Arnold stated it was clear that 'strategic or real estate aspects counted for less ... than matters of identity and control'.⁸¹ Arnold used Reynolds' conclusion that areas such as Bowling, Horton and Manningham retained their sense of community and separateness well after their inclusion in the city of Bradford to explain the failure of the merger. Interestingly, despite the high profile of former Manningham players and repeated references to rugby heritage, no one suggested a merged club with a football and rugby section. Arnold concluded that the localised loyalties were decisive in preventing Bradford enjoying greater success in football where 'competition was national and principally between towns and cities, rather than between districts'.⁸² A merged club would have arguably been a formidable combination and could have established Bradford as a major football power. The consequence of the vote was a split of support and

⁸¹ Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.48.

⁸² Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, pp.48-9; Jack Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist, Titus Salt and the growth of nineteenth century Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Art Galleries & Museums, 1983), p. 113, 163.

resources that was to have a major impact on the performance of both clubs. Harry Briggs would ultimately be proved correct to conclude that two clubs in one city would do neither any good. Briggs had decreed to press on with a separate football club in the event of a rejection of the amalgamation and that is exactly what he did. On 31 May Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC applied for membership of the Football League.⁸³

iii The Curious Case of Bradford (Park Avenue) and the Southern League

As the twentieth century dawned the preeminence of the Football League appeared to have a challenger. The successes of Southern League clubs Southampton (FA Cup finalists 1900 and 1902) and Tottenham Hotspur (FA Cup winners 1901) on the national stage suggested that the Football League had a serious rival. Indeed, when Bradford (Park Avenue) was elected to the Southern League in 1907, it was heralded in some quarters as the beginning of the development of a national league that would challenge the supremacy of the Football League. However, it was illusory. In 1900, and again in 1909, the Southern League attempted to become either a southern based second division of the Football League or later a third division.⁸⁴ By 1907 three Southern League clubs had already departed for the Football League and

⁸³ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 31 May 1907.

⁸⁴ Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp.136-7.

even Bradford (Park Avenue) only joined the Southern League after failing to gain election to the Football League.⁸⁵ Bradford (Park Avenue) offered substantial financial inducements to gain admission to the Southern League and even gave a verbal guarantee that they would remain loyal to the Southern League for three seasons. However, after one solitary season Bradford (Park Avenue) broke those promises, resigned from the Southern League and gained admission to the Football League.

The actions of Bradford (Park Avenue) vividly illustrated the future direction of professional league football in England. The credibility of the Southern League as a genuine challenger to the Football League was fatally undermined. However, the development of the Football League into a national organisation was far from being a corporate goal. The league was, after all, a collection of member clubs, mainly from the north and midlands, and such was the prosperity of the competition that many did not feel compelled to act for the overall good of the game. It is notable that the majority of pleas to expand the league came from clubs who were not members. Though some of the league's leading lights were supportive of an expansionist agenda, there was a definite split between, what Taylor described as, the guardians of the Football League and the missionaries of

⁸⁵ Taylor, *The Association Game*, p.68.

football.⁸⁶ However, the momentum was irresistible, the Great War accelerated the process and the national structure of the Football League was rapidly established in its wake. Arguably, the Bradford (Park Avenue) affair was the tipping point and the moment that the nationalisation of the Football League became inevitable.

On 31 May 1907 Bradford (Park Avenue) applied for membership of the Football League. However, the infant club faced powerful opposition, in particular from Southern League Fulham. The Craven Cottage club's delegate at the Football League AGM asked the meeting:

To consider the fact that on the Southern League agenda was a proposal to debar any club again entering that league that applied for admission to the Football League. If Fulham were not elected, and the Southern League proposal went through, they would be football outcasts.⁸⁷

Bradford's representative, Rev Leighton, told the meeting that the election of a second Bradford club would herald the 'extinction of Northern Union'. He attempted to illustrate the civic status of the club when he said that the lord

⁸⁶ Matthew Taylor, 'Building a National League: the Football League and the North of England, 1888-1939', *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, series 2, Vol.1, No.1, (2005), p.17.

⁸⁷ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1907.

mayor was the club's life-president and that three former mayors were vice-presidents and four justices of the peace and two councillors were active members. Leighton concluded that 'the Bradford club had the very highest and noblest of traditions'. The *Athletic News* commented 'this was evidently intended to impress the league with the majesty of the Bradford convert. Thus spoke the rev. gentleman who once referred to the Association game as "ping pong" and to professional players as "aliens". Evidently his conversion has been complete'.⁸⁸

Fulham's appeal was successful; they were elected to the Football League and took the place of Burton United. Lincoln City and Chesterfield were re-elected.⁸⁹

Table 1.6

Votes cast at the Football League AGM 1907

Lincoln City	28
Fulham	28
Chesterfield Town	23
Oldham Athletic	17

⁸⁸ *Athletic News*, 3 June 1907.

⁸⁹ *Football League management committee minutes*, 31 May 1907.

Bradford (Park Avenue)	11
Burton United	7
Rotherham Town	0
Salford United	0
Wigan Town	0

The *Bradford Daily Telegraph* speculated that Bradford (Park Avenue) would apply for Southern League membership, but thought that the southern clubs were 'not likely to be anxious to undertake the long journey north'.⁹⁰ Following a meeting between Harry Briggs and Southern League officials, Bradford (Park Avenue) applied for membership. On 1 June Oldham Athletic, Bradford (Park Avenue), Southend United and Croydon Common vied for the place vacated by Fulham. Bradford (Park Avenue) promised £20 expenses to visiting London clubs and £25 to clubs, such as Plymouth Argyle, travelling from further afield. Additionally, they would pay two years expenses on the first visit and bound themselves to the Southern League for three years. Oldham Athletic offered £20 to every visiting club and, similar to Bradford (Park Avenue), offered to pay next season's £20 upfront and guaranteed Oldham Athletic's membership of the Southern League for three seasons.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1907.

⁹¹ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 3 June 1907.

Bradford's extra pounds paid off as they received an overwhelming twenty-six votes. Oldham Athletic and Croydon trailed in with two each. The champions of the Southern League's second division, Southend United, didn't receive a single vote. There was consideration of extending the league to accommodate Oldham Athletic (but notably not Croydon or Southend), however, it was rejected. The *Morning Leader* saw Bradford's election as a historic step and one that would herald a mass migration of former Northern Union clubs into the welcoming arms of the Southern League, thereby transforming it into a national competition and one rivalling the Football League:

In view of the rapid decline of Northern Union football the Southern League may in future seasons embrace other clubs that once favoured a game of their own. Thus the Southern League will assume a national character. I shall always regard the annual meeting on Saturday at the Holborn Restaurant as the most historic in the annals of the Southern League. It marks the beginning of a new era.⁹²

Others were less generous. The *London Daily Chronicle* thought that the Southern League had overreached itself and, by ignoring its own second

⁹² *Morning Leader*, 3 June 1907.

division champions in favour of Bradford's hard cash, it had damaged its reputation. The *London Daily Express* noted:

As both Bradford (Park Avenue) and Oldham have unsuccessfully attempted to gain admission to Division II of the English League, it looks as though the Southern League is content to play the role of a preparatory school for the elder boy.⁹³

Given that New Brompton could not even find a seconder for its proposal that any team applying for Football League membership be excluded from the Southern League, the *Daily News* concluded that 'the prestige of the Southern League has suffered greatly by recent events.'⁹⁴ The *Bradford Daily Telegraph* was more optimistic, and brutally honest, in its assessment of how Bradford (Park Avenue) had managed to gain so many votes. However, its upbeat assessment of the position of the club made no mention of what difference a similar financial commitment might have made to the club had it remained in the Northern Union:

Although the expenses will be enormous, added to the guarantee given to the clubs in return for their votes, it is certain that Bradford (Park

⁹³ *London Daily Express*, 3 June 1907.

⁹⁴ *Daily News*, 1 June 1907.

Avenue) will be in a better position at the end of their first season than would have been the case had they had to play in the West Yorkshire and North Eastern Leagues.⁹⁵

Bradford's election was headlined as 'Football Folly' in the *Daily News*. It was calculated that the club would have to travel 'over 8,500 miles' during the course of the season and that every trip would necessitate an overnight stay.⁹⁶ It was estimated that £1,000 would be required merely to play the fixtures, add on a further £3,000 for wages and Bradford (Park Avenue) would have to take £210 at every home game to break even. If the barrage of criticism wasn't enough, it was alleged that Bradford's application for Southern League was illegal, as they had not applied for membership before the 1 May deadline. However, as Fulham's elevation to the Football League had occurred on 31 May, the Southern League decided to overlook the late application.

On the field Bradford's Southern League sojourn was summed up as a 'brilliant beginning, a remarkable sequence of drawn games, nine consecutive defeats, and some steady improvement towards the close'.⁹⁷ They were to finish a modest thirteenth. In early February 1908 rumours were rife that

⁹⁵ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 3 June 1907.

⁹⁶ *Daily News*, 1 June 1907.

⁹⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 1 May 1908.

several prominent clubs would be resigning from the Southern League and applying for Football League membership. The *Bradford Daily Argus* was dismissive, claiming, with some justification, that the Southern League was as good as, if not better than, the Football League's second division:

I can scarcely anticipate any desertions this season. Rumours have been rife that the present leaders, Queen's Park Rangers, would desert the fold, but, knowing them as I do, I simply cannot believe it.⁹⁸

Two weeks later Tottenham Hotspur and QPR announced that they would be applying for Football League membership. They were trying to keep their options open, as they did not actually resign from the Southern League. The *Bradford Daily Argus* was 'absolutely dumbfounded' by the decision.⁹⁹ On the face of it, with Southern League clubs once again competing well in the FA Cup, the league appeared strong, but, as ever, actions speak louder than words. Rumours were now circulating that Bradford (Park Avenue) would be next to jump ship. Ironically, Bradford's next game was at QPR, the game had been selected as the club's annual trip and virtually the entire committee was travelling to London. The conversations in the directors' box would have been fascinating. How influential the trip to QPR was to be is impossible to know,

⁹⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 8 Feb. 1908.

⁹⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 20 Feb. 1908.

but on the Monday after the match, Bradford (Park Avenue) applied for Football League membership.

The *Bradford Daily Argus*, who seventeen days earlier had rubbished claims that Bradford (Park Avenue) would leave the Southern League, described the move as 'not a bombshell' and told its readers that 'active preparations' had been underway ever since the original application the previous summer.¹⁰⁰ In a rapid rewriting of history, it was claimed that Bradford (Park Avenue) could 'never be described truly as a Southern League club', however, they were 'worthy of their admission no one can deny'.¹⁰¹ Fraternal thoughts of a national league were thrust aside. 'It [Southern League] has not been properly managed, and without doubt, when they refused Chelsea's application they made a very serious blunder'.¹⁰² The Manchester based *Athletic News* was more hostile to Bradford's plight. Reviewing events it noted:

In the south it is declared that when Bradford, panic stricken at their rejection by the league, went cap in hand to the southerners ... Bradford gave a verbal undertaking that they would not desert the Southern

¹⁰⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 25 Feb. 1908.

¹⁰¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 29 Feb. 1908.

¹⁰² The Stamford Bridge ground had been built speculatively and had been offered to Fulham, who rejected it. Chelsea FC had been formed as a result in 1905, they applied for Southern League membership, but when rebuffed applied and gained immediate admission to the Football League.

League for at least three seasons. Now Bradford reply that the contract is broken because of the action of the Spurs and the Rangers!¹⁰³

The Southern League's response to the crisis was uncompromising; at a special general meeting on 23 March, Bradford (Park Avenue), QPR and Spurs were told to resign by 30 April. A week short of the deadline Bradford (Park Avenue) burned their boats and resigned; a bold stance that they hoped would send a strong signal to the Football League.¹⁰⁴ Viewing the situation from the present it is tempting to assume that the Bradford club had the weakest case of the three applicants. However, they were backed by the enormous wealth of Harry Briggs, the club believed that they enjoyed a high status in sporting circles and were viewed as the civic team of Bradford:

Bradford have at Park Avenue an institution which ranked with Blackheath, Newport, Fettes Loretto and the best of rugby of all time ... such an organisation must inevitably add to the importance of the league ... the Bradford club is the town's club of Bradford, dedicated absolutely to sport and the public ... almost a municipal club.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ *Athletic News*, 16 Mar. 1908.

¹⁰⁴ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 23 Apr. 1908.

¹⁰⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 31 Mar. 1908.

This status was undoubtedly of great importance to the Bradford club. Throughout the press reports there are frequent references to the 'traditions of Park Avenue', the 'dignity of the Bradford club' and the 'honour of the club'. Whether this importance, even if there was an element of self-aggrandisement, would have made an impression in the boardrooms of the Football League is impossible to know. Indeed, quoting matches against Fettes Loretto as an example of Bradford's esteem might have been irrelevant in a football context. However, the club's lost status as an elite rugby club was clearly a central plank of the club's self-image. In some respects it has echoes of the use of Manningham's rugby history to illustrate Bradford City members' sense of their own identity during the failed merger bid. Clearly both clubs believed that they had an organisational history, and identity, that overarched three changes of football codes.

Whether the timing of the Football Association's February 1909 announcement that Park Avenue would host an England-Ireland international match was a signal of support for Bradford's Football League bid is difficult to answer. It seems an astonishing decision in light of the fact that by the time the international was played Bradford (Park Avenue) could have been a club without a league to play in. However, the staging of international matches at the grounds of Southern League clubs, Millwall (1911), Portsmouth (1903) and Southampton (1903), was not unusual. So the Football Association may have

been merely supporting the spread and strength of the game as a whole. The only potential parallel with Bradford was the use of Fulham's Craven Cottage ground for an England-Wales match in March 1907 weeks before Fulham was voted into the Football League.

The pedigree of the 1901 FA Cup winners Spurs was obvious. During 1908 they had attracted crowds of over 20,000 for top fixtures, more than many established first division clubs.¹⁰⁶ The Bradford press thought that Spurs was complacent and was relying on their name alone to get them into the Football League. If it was true, then it was a dangerous game. There were elements within the Football League who were anti-Metropolitan and wary that the election of London clubs might see a shift in power from the north – and in particular Lancashire – towards the capital. As Blackburn Rovers John Lewis said 'the Football League was in danger of assuming too much of a London complexion.'¹⁰⁷ However, despite Lewis's comments the Football League was pondering a proposed third division.¹⁰⁸ QPR was the Southern League champions and when they gave Manchester United a tough game in the FA Charity Shield it reportedly gave their election chances a significant boost.

¹⁰⁶ Russell, *Football and the English*, pp.37-8.

¹⁰⁷ Taylor, 'Building a National League', p.20.

¹⁰⁸ *Football League management committee minutes*, 28 May 1908, DDFOL/1/1/1/5, Lancashire County Archive, Preston.

However, it would be a mistake to assume that the Football League clubs would be judging the candidates for league membership on purely footballing merits. Spurs was the one side with a real pedigree, whilst Bradford (Park Avenue) and QPR were viewed as being merely super rich. Those clubs worried about retaining their league status were hardly likely to vote for clubs whose resources would make them challengers for promotion to the first division. That could be tantamount to signing their own death warrants. Some would be attracted to clubs who were likely to struggle and therefore place a buffer between themselves and the relegation places. The established first division clubs might be tempted to vote for clubs who would improve the competition, and therefore attract bigger gates, but even they might have an eye to the future.¹⁰⁹ To further complicate voting intentions was the example of Bradford City. It was reported that one of the three league clubs applying for re-election had strenuously supported City's application for league membership in 1903.¹¹⁰ Would obligation force City to vote for their one time champion? There was also hostility from within the Bradford City support. A letter published by the *Athletic News* denounced Bradford Park Avenue as 'aristocrats with one or two men of wealth'. The writer went onto describe Bradford City as 'a working man's club, and if Park Avenue are successful in getting entry to the league I am convinced that ... one club will

¹⁰⁹ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.126. Apparently some at Lincoln City believed that they lost out to, what they described as, the 'big purse' of Tottenham Hotspur in 1908.

¹¹⁰ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 18 Mar. 1908.

go to the wall and the club will be Bradford City'.¹¹¹

The appointment of Gilbert Gillies, formerly of Leeds City, as manager of Bradford (Park Avenue) was viewed as highly significant. It was said of Gillies that 'no man knows more about the politics of Socker football'.¹¹² He was 'a man who can win votes where hundreds would fail, because he is looked upon as being a straight sportsman, and one who can be absolutely relied upon'. So, whilst Spurs was said to be resting on their laurels, Bradford (Park Avenue) was working hard to secure votes. QPR's chances were fatally undermined when complaints were made about inducements being offered in the shape of travelling expenses. Of course, it was exactly the same policy that had gained Bradford (Park Avenue) a place in the Southern League, but attempting to buy off Football League clubs caused uproar and QPR withdrew their application for Football League membership.¹¹³ They were forced cap in hand back to the Southern League where they faced an uncertain reception. As the day of the election drew nearer the Southern League unanimously passed a rule stating that any club wishing to resign had to do so by 31 December and failure to abide by the rule would result in a £500 fine.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ *Athletic News*, 16 March 1908.

¹¹² *Bradford Daily Argus*, 8 May 1908.

¹¹³ Inglis, *League Football*, p.67.

¹¹⁴ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 16 May 1908.

The annual general meetings of the Southern League and the Football League fell on the same day, 27 May 1908, and were held at exactly the same hour. Six teams vied for Football League membership and, despite the months of jockeying for position, it was a close run thing. Grimsby Town was re-elected by a large margin. Chesterfield was re-elected. Bradford (Park Avenue) gained a place in the Football League edging out existing league club Lincoln City.¹¹⁵

Table 1.7

Votes cast at the Football League AGM 1908

Grimsby Town	32
Chesterfield Town	23
Bradford (Park Avenue)	20
Lincoln City	18
Tottenham Hotspur	14
Burton United	1

As the *Bradford Daily Argus* noted:

¹¹⁵ Football League management committee minutes, 29 May 1908.

For the Bradford Association Club to gain admittance to the Football League a season after its formation has taken the football world outside Bradford by storm, and the force of that shock has been felt nowhere more intensely than in London, where a club like Tottenham Hotspur has been beaten.¹¹⁶

At the Southern League meeting QPR and Spurs were excluded by a large majority. There was a determination that the Southern League should 'not be made a nursery ground or stepping stone to other competitions.'¹¹⁷ However, only five days later J.B. Skeggs of Millwall suggested extending the Southern League first division by two clubs. The Millwall official said 'the league, having proved its power, will not be adverse to helping the two clubs concerned out of their difficulty.'¹¹⁸ QPR were accepted back into the fold, but were forced to play many of their home games midweek as punishment for their sins. Spurs were left in limbo until Stoke City resigned from the Football League due to financial difficulties. Even then, Spurs only scraped into the Football League after tying with Lincoln City on votes and then having to rely on a 5-3 vote in their favour at the Football League's management committee. The *Athletic News* described the expulsion of QPR and Spurs from the

¹¹⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 29 May 1908.

¹¹⁷ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 29 May 1908.

¹¹⁸ *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 4 June 1908.

Southern League as a mistake that would precipitate the 'development of a national league'.¹¹⁹

To modern eyes the election of Bradford (Park Avenue) in preference to Spurs might seem illogical. Indeed, the founder of the Football League, Aston Villa's William McGregor, had said of the Football League only the previous year, 'whilst it does not include Southampton, Portsmouth and Tottenham Hotspur, it cannot be said to be truly representative'.¹²⁰ However, there was a strong anti-Metropolitan element within the Football League and in society as a whole. London was becoming the focal point of the nation in a way that it had never been before. As the industrial might of the north declined, and society centralised, power and influence began to move inexorably towards the capital. Industrial provincial clubs still dominated the Football League; it was understandable that they were reluctant to loosen their grip. Spurs undoubtedly had status as former FA Cup winners and their large attendances would have given them the economic clout to match. When viewed in that light, Bradford's bold decision to resign from the Southern League and then their patient, but determined, lobbying, in contrast to Spurs's attitude which was said to be complacent, may well have struck a cord in the boardrooms of the Football League. The determined and resolute

¹¹⁹ *Athletic News*, 1 June 1908.

¹²⁰ Taylor, 'Building a National League', pp.17-18.

Harry Briggs was someone they may have felt at ease with. The fact that he had taken the club into the Southern League demonstrated the seriousness and commitment of Bradford (Park Avenue) to professional football. The league may have also seen the election as a way of creating a critical mass of clubs in the West Riding that would reinforce the pioneering work of Bradford City and Leeds City in a formerly rugby dominated area. However, the proximity of Bradford City, whose Valley Parade ground was a mere 1.9 miles from Park Avenue, and the potential adverse financial impact a neighbouring Football League club could have on an existing league member appears not to have been openly debated. Yet, in 1891 the league decided to forbid election of a club into the league where it was within three miles of an existing member.¹²¹ Vamplew noted objections by Chelsea, Clapton Orient and Tottenham to Arsenal's 1913 move to Highbury. However, during the period leading to the 1907 vote no similar debate was reported.

At the turn of the century the Southern League could point to the successes of Southampton (FA Cup finalists 1900 and 1902) and Spurs (FA Cup winners 1901) on the national stage and claim to be a serious rival to the Football League. By the time of the Bradford (Park Avenue) affair the Southern League had lost Bristol City, Clapton Orient and Fulham to the Football League. The

¹²¹ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p.137.

fact that New Brompton's 1907 proposal to ban any club who had applied for Football League membership could not even gain a seconder was revealing. Bradford's almost cynical use of the Southern League for its own aims, allied to Spurs's resignation, undermined the credibility of the Southern League. By 1909 eighteen Southern League clubs were actively considering resigning en bloc to form a Football League third division.¹²² Though the Southern League expanded from sixteen to thirty-six clubs in two decades, it was undoubtedly losing status in the face of the Football League. Although some of its new clubs, most notably Stoke City, appeared to be prestigious additions, in reality, like Bradford (Park Avenue), they joined the Southern League after being rejected by the Football League. For some clubs the Southern League became a holding position whilst they awaited a place in the Football League. The Great War, which drew the country closer together in both patriotic zeal and shared loss, accelerated the transition of the Football League into a national competition. It was no surprise when the entire top division of the Southern League joined the Football League and became Division Three (South) in 1920.

Bradford (Park Avenue)'s financial losses in the Southern League amounted to £1,360, although subsequent Football League membership reduced losses to

¹²² Taylor, *Association Game*, p.68; Inglis, *League Football*, pp.68-9. The eventual rejection of the proposal came from the Football League following a very stormy meeting at Manchester in April 1909.

£500, the extensive redevelopment of the Park Avenue football ground had seen the mortgage rise to £19,000. To fund the development of the ground, in 1909 7,000 shares were offered and the football club adopted limited company status. The take up of shares was even more disappointing than Bradford City's. Although around half of the shares were purchased, the reality was that the uptake was minimal among the general public as the Briggs family purchased 84%. It was a vivid illustration of the almost complete reliance of the infant football club on the largesse of the Briggs family.¹²³ However, the low uptake in shares was not confined to the Bradford clubs. In 1893 Woolwich Arsenal became a limited liability company in order to raise money to purchase and develop a new ground. Of the 4,000 £1 shares only 1,552 were allocated. However, in a complete contrast to Bradford (Park Avenue) Arsenal had 860 shareholders of whom only three individuals held more than twenty shares.¹²⁴

iv Bradford Northern Union

When Manningham became Bradford City AFC in 1903 those who wished to continue to watch Northern Union rugby were able to cross the city to Park Avenue. However, there is no firm evidence that many did. Following the

¹²³ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.59.

¹²⁴ Mason, *Association Football*, pp.34-5.

change of codes at Park Avenue in 1907 an alternative Northern Union club was not available to supporters who wished to remain loyal to the game. The formation of a new club, to at least salvage and retain as much of the old Bradford club as possible, was the only way of keeping the Northern Union game alive in the city of Bradford. Those plans were put in place while the merger debate between Bradford FC and Bradford City was underway. Although the proposed Northern Union club lacked wealthy benefactors, it could rely on the support of the Northern Union and that proved to be crucial as the game struggled to reestablish itself in Bradford.

On the same day that Harry Briggs sat down with his opposite number at Valley Parade to open discussions on a merger that proposed moving Bradford City AFC to Park Avenue, the Eastern Division Committee of the Bradford Northern Rugby Union convened at the Osbourne Hotel, Bradford in order to consider how to keep the game alive in the city. The League Committee agreed not to transfer the Bradford FC players, as plans to form a new Northern Union club were already underway.¹²⁵ A keen eye was kept on the merger talks as it had been agreed that 'should Bradford City decide to leave Valley Parade a strong endeavour would be made to obtain use of the enclosure'.¹²⁶ Bowling Old Lane FC had already rejected an offer of £50 per

¹²⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 18 Apr.1907.

¹²⁶ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 30 Apr. 1907.

annum offer from for the use of their Birch Lane ground, as they did not want to discontinue their blossoming football team. Four other grounds had also been evaluated: Victoria Rangers ground at Stanacre off Otley Road; a field at Girlington; another at Woodroyd; and Bradford FC's old ground at Apperley Bridge. Even a rapprochement with the committee at Park Avenue had not been ruled out. However, on 8 May 1907, at the annual dinner of the Bradford Intermediate Rugby League, the president of the Northern Union, Wakefield Trinity's J.B. Cooke, revealed that he had had face-to-face meetings with Bradford FC's all-powerful finance and property committee. He said that whether the meeting of the Bradford FC members was legal or illegal, they had to face up to the fact that it seemed that Northern Union was finished at Park Avenue.¹²⁷ The Rubicon had been crossed and on 16 May 1907 it was announced that the time had come to 'proceed at once with the formation of a first class Northern Union rugby team'.¹²⁸

At a subsequent public meeting at the Mechanics Institute 'a large and enthusiastic' group of supporters of the Northern Union game pledged their backing for a new club in the city. The chair of the meeting, Chephas Rhodes, told the gathering that although two grounds were under consideration, an

¹²⁷ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 9 May 1907.

¹²⁸ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 17 May 1907.

attempt would still be made to retain the Park Avenue ground for the club.¹²⁹

There would be no return to Park Avenue; even an appeal for the redundant rugby stock was rejected. The former Bradford FC players met with the new club and most agreed terms for the coming season. It was decided to put the question of the ground to a vote of members. On 26 June 1907 the members voted by a large majority to move to the Greenfield trotting and athletics ground at Dudley Hill, just under three miles from Park Avenue.¹³⁰

Spectators complained about the fact that Greenfield was not on a direct tram route from the city centre. Although the reporting of attendances was sporadic, from the limited evidence available it can be discerned that the average attendance for the 1907-8 season was around the 4,300 mark.¹³¹ Although the attendances were reported to be disappointing, when compared to the average of 5,000 for the final season of the Northern Union at Park Avenue, 1906-7, the support levels appear to have held up well despite the move to Greenfield.¹³² However, when attendances at football matches in Bradford during the same period are considered, it vividly illustrates a significant shift in sporting loyalties. Bradford City's average league

¹²⁹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 25 May 1907.

¹³⁰ Grillo, *100 Years*, pp.50-1.

¹³¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 7 Sept. 1907, 5 Oct. 1907, 21 Oct. 1907, 2 Nov. 1907, 26 Dec. 1907.

¹³² *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 1 Sept., 15 Sept., 29 Sept., 13 Oct., 28 Oct., 17 Nov., 1 Dec., 22 Dec., 29 Dec., 1906, 5 Jan., 9 Feb., 2 Mar., 1907.

attendance for the 1907-8 season was 15,473.¹³³ Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC's first season in the Southern League attracted an average home attendance of 9,342. Their elevation to the second division of the Football League in 1908-9 saw the average home attendance rise to 11,157.¹³⁴ In an attempt to attract more spectators Bradford Northern moved to Birch Lane, an area that was described as being much 'more populous', was a short tram or train ride from the city centre and was only 1.4 miles from the club's former Park Avenue home.¹³⁵

Just as happened when Manningham became Bradford City AFC it appears that a large proportion of spectators showed loyalty to the organisation rather than the code of sport being played. While fairly informed conclusions can be made on the actions of those at board level it is much more difficult to understand the thoughts of the spectators who remained loyal to the organisation as it moved from rugby to football. Their viewpoint has not been recorded. However, it is probable that their willingness to change their allegiances from rugby to football mirrored that of the participants in local club matches who, as has been charted, made a significant shift from rugby to football in the period between 1895 and 1902. Of course, many of those club

¹³³ Frost, *Bradford City*, p.178.

¹³⁴ Hartley and Chapman, *Avenue*, pp.48-50.

¹³⁵ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 20 May 1908.

footballers will also have been spectators at both Valley Parade and Park Avenue.

In the wake of Bradford Park Avenue's election to the Southern League the Rev J. Leighton, who had represented the infant Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC when they applied for membership of both the Football League and Southern League, thought that Bradford Park Avenue's adoption of football 'meant the extinction of Northern Unionism'.¹³⁶ The facilities at Birch Lane were so poor that it was thought that supporters of the Northern Union game preferred to travel to neighbouring towns to witness games. Arnold concluded that Bradford Northern would have probably not survived had it not been for Bradford Council's development of Odsal Stadium in 1934 that finally allowed the club to escape from the constricting surroundings of Birch Lane.¹³⁷ Though the new Northern Union club was to face many years of struggle before it established itself, in the event it outlived Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC and, over a century later, it is still active as the Bradford Bulls Rugby League Club.

Conclusion

¹³⁶ *Athletic News*, 3 June 1907.

¹³⁷ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.83.

The failure of the merger of Bradford City and Bradford (Park Avenue) ultimately, as Arnold wrote in 1988, 'left Park Avenue derelict and Valley Parade synonymous with tragedy while the rewards and honours of the football business have gone elsewhere'.¹³⁸ Highly localised identities, constructed between two Victorian rugby clubs, resonated through successive generations of supporters and officials to such an extent that internal division proved to be more important than success on a national stage. While Bradford did sustain two successful Rugby Union clubs in the 1880s, the fact that it was unable to do so in the Northern Union should have been the lesson from history that facilitated the merger between Bradford City and Bradford (Park Avenue). It could be convincingly argued that rather than mergers it has been splits and a reluctance to merge that have had the greater historical impact, whether it is entire sports, Rugby Union and Rugby League, or individual clubs.¹³⁹

The folly of splitting the available resources was vividly illustrated by the lukewarm reaction to the share issues of both Bradford City and Bradford (Park Avenue). As was shown in the previous chapter, of the available 7,000 shares 3,600 were taken up. That left the club reliant on success to attract revenue through the turnstiles in order to service the club's debts and cover

¹³⁸ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, p.158.

¹³⁹ Kennedy, 'The Split', pp.471-3. One example being Everton's split of 1892 that led to the birth of Liverpool FC.

the overheads of a first division football club. At Park Avenue the gamble of accepting Southern League status as a stepping-stone towards Football League membership was an expensive one.

Despite Bradford City's early successes, and Bradford (Park Avenue)'s promotion to the first division, by the 1920s both clubs were in decline. The division of support and finance in the ruthlessly competitive national sport of football ensured that the two clubs effectively cancelled each other out. In Bradford the failure of the 1907 merger created the modern sporting landscape of the city, which, with its two professional football clubs and a professional rugby league club playing on three separate grounds, is a physical explanation of why a city the size of Bradford has failed to sustain success on the sporting field.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to understand what developments in Bradford tell about the role of sport in the modern city. In many respects Bradford is a microcosm of events on a national scale. Much of the developments in Bradford have parallels in other towns and cities, especially in the north of England. The contribution of this thesis to the historiography of sport can be broken down in a handful of main themes: the impact of industrialisation on sport and in particular the premodern spectator sports represented here by knur and spell and pedestrianism; the economic imperatives of sport in the guise of decisions made as regards the direction of Bradford's two main football clubs; the use of sporting clubs in forming identities in a rapidly developing conurbation and how that solidified as the town settled into the late Victorian era; the impact those identities had on the shaping of a modern sporting landscape that remains more or less in place to this day.

The almost unprecedented movement of people into the industrial conurbations, and the parallel regularisation of working hours, led to the creation of new living conditions and social interactions. Leisure was shaped by exposure to rapid urbanisation, emerging civic culture and elements of competition, commercialism and professionalism that was the bedrock of industrial capitalism. Malcolmson and Morris had concluded that during the

early stages of industrialisation, roughly 1780 to 1840, a leisure vacuum, driven by excessive working hours, rapid urbanisation and evangelicalism had crushed pre-industrial leisure practices.¹ Given that Bradford saw a 1,170% increase in its population between 1800 and 1850, it can be argued the town offers a perfect test bed for the leisure vacuum theory. Contemporary accounts show that rather than languishing in a leisure vacuum Bradfordians were boating on the canal, heavily using two central bowling greens and were watching blood sports such as cock fighting and bull baiting. That evidence offers further support to historians, notably Holt, Tranter and Walvin, who have probed the leisure vacuum theory and have found it wanting.² Not only did leisure pursuits continue, as in the case of knur and spell, they survived into what might be described as the modern era. The development of popular sport in Bradford illustrates that pre-modern recreational culture was not eradicated or abandoned. Indeed, it is difficult to argue with Light's conclusion that some of the main tenets of the pre-modern era such as 'professionalism and reward for good performance, spectatorship, and commercialism had simply been adapted to the more formalised demands of industrialised society'.³

¹ Malcolmson, *Popular Recreation in English Society*, p.170; Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness*, p.53.

² Richard Holt, *Sport and the British, a modern history* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998); James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (Longman, 1978).

³ Light, *The Other Face of English Cricket*, p.62.

Despite the repudiation of the leisure vacuum theory, it has to be acknowledged that although many so-called traditional sports overlapped considerably with codified modern sports, the industrialisation of Britain had an enormous and lasting impact on the development of sport. Vamplew stressed that it was only once the economic benefits of the industrial revolution had permeated down to the working classes that the conditions were met for the emergence of large-scale commercialised sport.⁴ As the factory system became the norm for greater numbers of workers the move began towards, what is understood today as, a standard working week with its free time at a weekend. The various Factory Acts that took effect from the 1850s were key elements in freeing up Saturday afternoon for the playing of sport. As Mason wrote, although the Victorians did not invent sport, they undoubtedly developed it to 'new levels of sophistication and achievement'.⁵ Although the public house in the Georgian era, particularly in the London area, were integral to the sporting scene, in the context of this thesis, one of the most significant moments in that development was the gathering of sports around public houses. Although the notion that enclosed sporting grounds were a Victorian invention has been questioned by Brailsford and Oldfield, in Bradford at least, the enclosing of sporting grounds and charging for

⁴ Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp.218-22.

⁵ Mason, 'Sport', p.292.

admission, as represented at the Quarry Gap Inn, can be presented as the beginning of, what is recognised today as, commercialised spectator sport.⁶

The fact that the Quarry Gap was part of a trans-Pennine pedestrianism network, largely organised from Manchester, is an early indication that there was a cross fertilisation of sporting cultures that crossed county boundaries and the apparent barrier of the Pennine hills. Because Lancashire and Yorkshire later adopted different codes of football as their dominant winter sports it has arguably caused historians to overlook the parallel developments. There is some traction in the argument that the earlier adoption of a league system in Lancashire represented a different pace of development. Indeed, Walton noted, what might be termed, a leisure lag of the 'superficially similar' West Riding textile workers behind their Lancashire counterparts which he ascribed to lower family incomes east of the Pennines.⁷ The differential between the formation of the Football League in 1888 and the Yorkshire Senior Competition (effectively the West Riding's rugby league) in 1893 could be attributed to the leisure lag, but such a conclusion could be misleading given the differing stances taken nationally by the two codes' governing bodies and indeed the changing political situation, in particular the rise of trade unionism, in the country as the 1880s moved into the 1890s.

⁶ Brailsford, 'Sporting Days', p.43; Oldfield, 'Running Pedestrianism', pp.226-7.

⁷ John K. Walton, *Lancashire, a social history, 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.295.

Although the formation of leagues is an important indicator of the sophistication of a sporting culture, other evidence suggests that the popular sporting culture of the West Riding was not at all far behind that of Lancashire. The regular five figure rugby crowds in the 1880s and the establishment of businesses such as Baines Cards, the British Sports Depot and Fattorini's are indicative of a sophisticated commercialised sporting culture. The fact that the two counties adopted differing codes of football has perhaps partially masked two sporting cultures that were far too remarkably similar to have emerged without significant cross-fertilisation.

Cricket was the first codified team sport to become popularised in Bradford and as such is an important indicator of industrial and societal changes being wrought on the town throughout the mid-nineteenth century. The listing of several active clubs from 1832 pushes back the previously accepted start date of cricket by probably a decade as most commentators appear to accept the formation of Bradford Cricket Club in 1836 as the start of cricket in the town.⁸ In a sense that was the case as Bradford CC became the first recognised sporting representative of the town. The development of a central and enclosed ground represented a step change from the other active clubs who appear to have played on common ground on the edge of the town. During the 1840s attendances in the low thousands at Bradford's matches staged on

⁸ Maud, *Bradford Cricket Club*, p.6; Arnold, *Game That Would Pay*, p.28.

Mondays and Tuesdays is arguably reflective of a gradual adoption of the factory system and regularised hours. It is useful evidence that Bradford's industrial revolution was a gradual process as opposed to a sudden upheaval of working practices. The appearance of the Bradford Tailors Cricket Club at the Quarry Gap in 1865 is an important illustration of the spread of a changing sporting landscape in the shape of the Saturday half-holiday. It was an early illustration of Meller's conclusion that 'changing attitudes to leisure ... provide an indication of the degree of social change in the city'.⁹

The decline of Bradford CC that began in the 1860s and accelerated through the 1870s can be presented as support for Davies and Light's argument that socially exclusive clubs were in decline during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ The club had been dominated by a Tory Anglican elite and their withdrawal from the club could be viewed as representative as part of the wider shift of power from the Anglican Tories towards the non-conformist Liberalism that would dominate Bradford politics for at least half a century. Similarly, the merger with Bradford [rugby] Football Club and the development of the extensive Park Avenue grounds in 1880 via subscriptions and the formation of the Bradford Cricket, Athletic and Football Club Ltd., represents a step change in the place of sport in society. Similar to the cricket

⁹ Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, p.241.

¹⁰ Davies and Light, *Cricket and Community*, p.39.

club Bradford FC had become more socially inclusive. However, in the case of the rugby club it was to enable Bradford to compete effectively in the Yorkshire Cup competition. The stated desire to win the cup for the civic prestige of Bradford was a major change of stance for a club that had previously played largely for the recreation of its members.

Nowhere was that inclusivity more apparent than in the growth of crowds watching clubs such as Bradford FC. Detractors of spectator sport have cited the sedentary and the commercial aspects of spectatorship, but perhaps have not fully acknowledged that being a spectator clearly meant, and indeed still means, a great deal to a large proportion of those present at such events. Whether that elevates spectatorship to a spiritual level is a matter of personal perception, but there is little doubt that watching sport, and becoming a supporter of a, usually, local club has, and still is, a central part of a not insignificant number of people's identities. Arnold considered that the culture of the spectator sport in Bradford was essentially masculine and had been shaped by the often-harsh working and day-to-day living conditions in the city.¹¹ In many respects the culture of spectators was little different to that of other industrial cities. Georges Duby viewed cultural diffusion as something that worked its way down through society. It can be argued that the culture of spectator sport was influenced by industrial capitalism and the essentially

¹¹ Arnold, *Game that would Pay*, pp.10-11.

pre-modern mob culture of the working classes.¹² Indeed, writing in 1897 T.H.S. Escott likened the culture of professional football to that of pugilism.¹³

Although Manningham's metamorphosis into Bradford City AFC was portrayed by Arnold as the pursuit of a 'game that would pay', it can be argued that, perhaps perversely at first sight, gate-taking sport has never been simply about profit and loss. Once sport had become infused with powerful emotions such as communal identity and prowess being based on success, victory on the field of play became more important than making a profit. It is an important distinction. Sporting organisations, no matter how commercialised, often operate differently to conventional businesses. Manningham's decision to eschew rugby for football was partly driven by a desire to usurp their cross-city rivals Bradford FC. By becoming Bradford City AFC, Manningham could replace Bradford FC as the city's sporting flag carrier by representing Bradford in a national game, an element Bradford FC had lost when they became part of the geographically constrained Northern Union. Of course, Manningham may have imagined that they had entered a game that would indeed pay, but they quickly saw those profits eaten up by the constant requirement to improve and renew their players in a highly

¹² Georges Duby, 'The Diffusionist Cultural Pattern in Feudal Society', *Past and Present*, 39, 1968, p.3.

¹³ T.H.S. Escott, *Social Transformations of the Victorian Age, a survey of court and country* (Seeley, 1897), p.416.

competitive Football League. Similarly, Bradford FC's failed merger bid with Bradford City AFC, and their subsequent decision to become Bradford (Park Avenue) AFC, could be simply framed as a hard-headed business decision to abandon the unprofitable Northern Union.

Vamplew argued that sport became an industry with economics at the heart of its development. Developments in Bradford support that theory, as rising prosperity in the 1880s ran parallel with the development of Bradford FC and Manningham FC as gate-taking rugby clubs. Transport improvements, in the shape of the spread and electrification of the Bradford tramways, deepened those developments and greatly aided the success of the Bradford Cricket League, a parallel with Vamplew's conclusion that, 'sport itself had undergone an industrial revolution'.¹⁴ The workers stitching rugby balls at the British Sports Depot, etching trophies at Fattorini's or printing Baines Cards were as reflective of sport's industrial revolution as were the five-figure crowds at Park Avenue or the paid professional in the Bradford Cricket League. Vamplew claimed it was illustrated by the shift from members being replaced by shareholders; clubs adopting limited company status; heavy investment in facilities that required regularised spectacles in order to repay

¹⁴ Vamplew, *Pay Up*, p.282.

the overheads.¹⁵ All these trends have been represented in Bradford and as such are supportive of Vamplew's conclusions.

The template of British sport had been set by 1914 and developments in Bradford confirm that theory. The emergence of an essentially modern sporting landscape in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century is not unique to Bradford. Russell discerned a similar pattern in Manchester which by 1914 had arrived at a shape that is recognisable today.¹⁶ Although it is tempting to portray the Great War as the abyss that would destroy the industrial prosperity, civic grandeur and internationalism of Bradford, in truth the die had been cast. Overseas competition and trade tariffs had already pushed Bradford down the production cycle. The number of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs had risen as the textile industry was becoming accustomed to low wages. The re-emergence of the Tories and rise of Labour, allied to growing intervention from national government, undermined the localised social reforms and civic improvements which had been for over half a century under the tutelage of the Liberal's. The Great War caused Bradford's German community to seemingly vanish, largely due to Anglicisation of surnames. However, second and third generation Germans were already assimilating, and thus disappearing, via marriage or moves away from the

¹⁵ Vamplew, *Pay Up*, p.4.

¹⁶ Russell, 'Sporting Manchester', p.5.

city. The Great War accelerated, but did not fundamentally alter, Bradford's industrial decline. However, it was a slow process and until that tragic conflict, and beyond, Bradford was still a vibrant trading city and one which enjoyed a great deal of self-confidence. The changes were echoed in sport by the shift of the city's two main sporting clubs from the largely regional Northern Rugby Union towards the national Football League. While both clubs recognised the opportunities offered by competition on the national stage, the failure to combine Bradford City and Bradford (Park Avenue) in 1907 illustrated that identities and loyalties formed during a highly localised rivalry in 1880s and 1890s rugby were so powerful that it arguably prevented the city of Bradford becoming a significant force in the truly national sport of football.

The appeal and powerful draw of partisan spectatorship was captured the great Bradford writer J.B. Priestley and it is perhaps an appropriate manner in which to conclude this thesis:

It turned you into a member of a new community, all brothers together for an hour and a half, for not only had you escaped the clanking machinery of this lesser life, from work, from wages, rent, doles, sick pay, insurance cards, nagging wives, ailing children, bad bosses, idle workmen, but you had escaped with most of your mates and your neighbours, with half the

town, cheering together, thumping one another on the shoulders, swapping judgments like Lords of the Earth, having pushed your way through a turnstile into another and altogether more splendid life, hurtling with Conflict and yet passionate and beautiful in its Art.¹⁷

¹⁷ J. B. Priestley, *The Good Companions* (Heinemann, 1929), p.4.

Appendix

A. Knur and Spell in the Modern Era

By the 1920s the game appears to have retreated to the rural fringes of the towns and cities. A high profile challenge in 1920 between the knur and spell world champion, Rowland Aspinall, and the Yorkshire golfer, George Marwood, was staged at Manywells Heights, an area of quarrying and sheep farming between the villages of Cullingworth and Denholme, west of Bradford. The challenge was whether a golfer or knur and spell player could strike a ball the furthest. The golfer won by the comfortable margin of seventy yards. In the same decade Burnley Football Club's England international goalkeeper, Gerry Dawson, played games for up to £250 on the moors on the Yorkshire-Lancashire border.¹

The decline of knur and spell appears to have run in parallel with the ageing of the players and the rise of a consumer society in the years immediately following the Second World War. It was only once the de-industrialisation of the north got under way from the 1970s that real interest was shown in

¹ Spen Valley Local History Survey, *Pennine Pastimes, Knur & Spell*, (Hebden Bridge: Pennine Heritage Network, 1984), p.4.

reviving the game. Arguably, a combination of: the nationalisation, indeed internationalisation, of culture; collapse of traditional industries; the twin challenge presented to masculinity and identity by the rise of feminism and immigration; and the emergence of heritage tourism, sowed the seeds for a mini-rebirth of knur and spell. In the 1970s a knur and spell world championship was revived at the Spring Rock Inn, Greetland, near Halifax. The Yorkshire and England cricketer Fred Trueman, then presenting the television programme *Indoor League*, was in attendance. In the early 1990s sporadic outbreaks of the game were reported at Otley, Haworth and Cowling. The world championships were revived again in 1991 at Otley Cricket Club when Len Kershaw, of Colne, defeated 160 competitors to become world champion. The world championship was last played for in 1995.²

Russell claimed that knur and spell 'is now really a heritage curiosity'. However, he acknowledged that games, such as knur and spell, have 'provided a powerful means of expressing a body of supposed northern values'.³ This has caused some of the players and supporters who have driven

² Alan Tomlinson, *Sport and Leisure Cultures* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), p.217.

³ Dave Russell, *Looking North, northern England and the national imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p.240.

the modern day revivals to, as Alan Tomlinson identified, to become wary of 'outsiders' ridiculing the game and its culture:

Knur and spell would be seen by outsiders as an oddity, a cultural relic, a pre-modern activity hauled out of the attic of history from time to time to titillate the curiosity of the modern urbane cosmopolitan or to highlight regional stereotypes.⁴

This has the potential to deter younger people from taking up knur and spell. The association, rightly or wrongly, with supposedly outdated values and a parochial viewpoint is presented as out of touch with modern Britain, the values of which are, of course, driven by a culture and media dominated by London and the south east of England. Add the rise of a consumerist society, which has at its core individualistic values and conspicuous consumption. Simple collective games such as knur and spell, which have at their heart a connection with the local community and landscape, are easily marginalised and ridiculed by, what Alan Tomlinson described as, the 'new tastemakers operating in the worlds of sports sponsorship, corporate hospitality and the production of media spectacles'.⁵ It is arguably those factors, rather than the

⁴ Tomlinson, *Sport and Leisure*, p.216.

⁵ Tomlinson, *Sport and Leisure*, p.223.

rise of cricket and the football codes, that caused the ultimate demise of knur and spell.

B. Composition of Warehousemen Teams Playing Cricket in the 1850s and 1860s as Reproduced in the *Bradford Observer*.

30 July 1857

S.L. Behrens v Craven & Harrop at Prospect Field, Otley Road.

S.L. Behrens

T. West, Knight, T. Ludlum, C. Wilson, H. Roberts, H. Taylor, J. West, W.E.

Lawson, J. Winterbottom, J. Ringstedt, J. Fairbank.

6 August 1857

Schwann, Kell & Co. v S.L. Behrens & Co.

Schwann, Kell & Co.

Child, Kemp, Wilson, Wigglesworth, Constantine, Broadbent, Lucas, Hudson,

Blakey, Crossland, Shaw.

S.L. Behrens & Co.

Thos. West, W. Knight, Ludlam, Taylor, James West, Lawson, Limbert, Lucas,
Bowers, Winterbottom, Wilson.

23 July 1863

Schwann, Kell & Co. v Manningham United

Schwann, Kell & Co.

Metcalf, E. Hudson, F. Schwann, W. Liversedge, F. Shaw, T. Lyons, C. Blakey,
A. Liversedge, C. Shaw. G. Lucas, F. Hay.

23 July 1863

Barsdortf's & Co. v Queensbury

Barsdortf's

R. Milner, A.S. Illingworth, E. Northrop, J. Craven, J. Sutcliffe, J. Moore, E.
Priestley, B. Bowker, T. Holdsworth, A. Robinson, T. Connell.

C. Governors, Bradford Grammar School, 1870

ex-officio Governors

Vicar of Bradford

Mayor of Bradford

President of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce

President of the Bradford Mechanics Institute

Cooptative Governors

Edwin Hailstone of Horton Hall

Colonel Thomas Tempest of Tong Hall

Francis Sharp Powell of Horton Old Hall

Captain William Pollard of Scarr Hill

Jacob Behrens of Springfield House

Henry Ripley of Holme House

Titus Salt of Baildon Lodge

John Godwin of Rawdon

D. Bradford Football Club Committee

April 1879

Harry Garnett (captain)

S.L. Smith (treasurer)

W. Schutt

W.W. Smith

F. Alcock

Harry Briggs

G. Dussemuir

Alfred Firth

A.W. Perkins

W.H. Watson

A. Heard

F. Ingle

W. Sim

T. Scott

H. Wilkinson

D. Yewdall.

E. Subscribers to Bradford Cricket, Athletic & Football Club

Listed in *Bradford Observer*, 6 March 1880

Angus Holden, Lord Mayor of Bradford, £200

Sir H.W. Ripley MP, owner Ripley & Sons, dyeworks, £100

Sir Henry Mitchell, former Mayor of Bradford, Govenor of Bradford School Board and Bradford Grammar School, founder of Bradford Technical College, £100

Lieut-Col. Harry Sagar Hirst, Commander of 3rd West Yorkshire Rifle Engineers, joint owner of J.H.S. Hirst brewery, married to Sarah Foster of Foster family, owners of Black Dyke Mills, £100

Sir Isaac Holden MP, owner of Isaac Holden & Sons, woolcombers, £50

Geo. Turner, owner George Turner & Co., spinners and manufacturers, Great Horton, £50

Sam Ackroyd, owner of Beckside Mills, Great Horton, £50

Alfred Illingworth MP, owner of Whetley Mills, director of Bradford &
District Bank, £50

Mitchell Bros., Mitchell Brothers Mill, Bowling, £50

Mitchell & Shepherd £50

Edward Briggs JP, owner of Brigella Mills, £21

John Briggs £21

Moses Briggs £21

Jas. Jennings £21

Thos. Waterhouse, bookseller, 12 Darley Street, Bradford, £21

J.H. Bottomley, photographer, £21

Joseph Drake £21

Henry Boyden, commission agent, Little Horton, £21

Alderman Thos. Prestley JP, Bank Top House, Horton, £21

Nathan Drake, stuff merchant, 10 Leeds Road £21

W.E. Forster MP £21

George Smith £21

John Ingle £21

Chas. Turner £21

C. Telford Smith, owner Samuel Smith & Co., Preston Street, £21

Herbert Rouse £21

W.C. Lupton, wine merchant, future Lord Mayor of Bradford £21

W.D. Thornton £21

Matthew Wright, spinner and manufacturer, of Horton Hall, £21

Harry Armitage £21

Perkins £21

G.B. Smith, land agent, estate agent, surveyor and valuer, Bank Street, £21

Henry Sutcliffe £21

G.E. Turner, owner George Turner & Co., spinners and manufacturers, Great
Horton, £21

J. Hardaker £21

Oliver Brook Lister, joint owner Lister Brothers, spinners and top merchants,
£21

J. Spink & Sons, brewers, £21

W.E. Scharff, stuff merchant, Little Germany, £21

Manoah Rhodes, jeweller, 45/7 Kirkgate, £21

W. Binns £10

J. Hall £10

J. Bankart, owner, B. Beattie & Co., £10

Israel Hall, coal merchant, L&Y coal Depot, Spring Mill Street, £10

John Rycroft £5 5s

Fred Lister, woolstapler, future president of Northern Union, £5

Thos. Fox £5

Jonas Whitley, possible future Lord Mayor of Bradford, £5

Gladstone & Conchar, wine and spirit merchants, 18 Kirkgate, £5

Robert Speight £5

A. Hawksworth, licensed victualler, Killinghall Road, £2 2s

C.W. Marchbank, hotel keeper, 18 Drake Street, £1 1s

C.S. Holliday £1

Total £1,488 1s

F. List of those Attending or Expressing Condolences at George Lorimer's Funeral, as listed in the *Bradford Daily Telegraph*.

Chief mourners and friends: Mr W. Lorimer, Miss Lorimer, Mr T. Lorimer, Miss Kate Lorimer, Miss Blenkinsop, Mr J. Blenkinsop, Miss Barber, Miss A. Barber, Mr Barber, Miss J. Lorimer, Miss L. Lorimer, Miss Pennington, Miss McCall, Miss Bateman, Mr S. Mallinson, Mr H. Verity, Miss Verity, Mr J. Verity, Mr W. Allan and others.

Manningham FC: Fred Clegg (captain), Alf Barraclough, W. Needham, A. Leach, T. Wilkinson, H. Tolson, A. Wood, J. Brown, T. Bamford, A. Thomas, H. Butterfield, J. Bradley, A. Fieldhouse, J. Sunderland, A. Priestman, T. Greenwood, D. Johnson, H. Pickles, R. Sunderland, A. Padgett.

Former Manningham players: E. Redman, Leicester, L. Fisher, F. Moorhouse, Tozer, G. Wilson.

Manningham FC committee: James Freeman (President), T. Billington, Eddie Holmes, T. Hartley, J.E. Blagbrough, T. Emmott, W. Knowles, Billy Fawcett, Tony Fattorini, Ike Newton, John Gill, F. Lobley.

Bradford FC: F.W. Cooper, Tommy Dobson, J.H. Compton, R. Smith, Tom Broadley, J.H. Toothill, A.L. Bairstow, J. Calvert, R. Robertson, T.H. Marshall, J. Booth, T. Burn, H. Wilkinson, H. Duckett, F. Parrott, Fred Lister, J. Rhodes, E.R. Hoyle, H. Scott, J. Padgett, J. Wright.

Bradford Licensed Victuallors and Trade (Park Avenue subscription fund committee): W. Thomas, W. Hopton, W. Clegg, J. Geoghan, Lewis Donkersley.

Northern Union: H.H. Waller (president), J. Burnley (president Yorkshire Senior Competition), Herbert Hutchinson (hon. sec. Yorkshire Senior Competition), Eckersley (Lancashire Senior Competition).

Representatives of various clubs and organisations: Major Brown, J.A. Rigg (capt. Yorkshire County), F. Firth, S. Foster, H. Bottomley (Halifax FC), R. Walton, W. Thresh (Wakefield FC), H. Walmsley, H. Connell, W.S. Smith

(Leeds), J. Whitaker, F. Jennings, H. Booth (Shipley and Saltaire FC), Donald Jowett, C.H. Goodall (Heckmondwike FC), R. Wood (capt. Liversedge FC), A. Goldthorpe (Hunslet FC), J.W. Hutchinson, H. Barnes (Leeds FC), J.W. Knowles, H. Franks, J. Priestley, J.E. Bennett, G.F. Platt (Manningham Mills CC), O. Watson (late Wakefield Trinity), J.W. Harrison (Bradford Daily Telegraph), F. Rowlands (Yorkshire Society NRU of Referees), George Kilner (hon. sec. Brighouse Rangers), A. Hirst (Brighouse), J.E. Fattorini, E.J. Fattorini, E. Lester, J. Dixon, F. Slater, W. Rhodes, J. Moorhouse, Sansom, H. Farrar, J. Rhodes, Harry Dobson and many others.

Letters of condolence received from: Manningham FC players, Brighouse Rangers, Hunslet FC, Hull FC, Halifax FC, Heckmondwike FC, Huddersfield FC, E. Redman, Leicester, Hull Daily News, H.H. Waller, J. Platt, Scott, C. Bowen, Hull FC, Walter Schutt, T.J. Johnson, W. Holloway.

Wreaths were sent by: Manningham FC, Manningham FC committee, Manningham FC players, Mr Rhodes and family, Bradford Club, Leeds Parish Church Club, Mr and Mrs Holmes, Mr and Mrs Duncan, Mr and Mrs Hartley, Mr F. Wood (Brighouse), Mr H.H. Waller (President NRU), Manningham Mills CC, Halifax FC, Holbeck FC, 'A few friends', Fattorini & sons, Mr J. Freeman, Mr and Mrs Emmott, 'A few members of the Manningham FC', Mr I. Newton,

Mr T.R. Smith, Allerton FC, Lancashire Senior Competition, Mr and Mrs G Mercer, Mr and Mrs Hickson, Manningham Conservative Club, Mr and Mrs Harper, Heckmondwike FC, Mr and Mrs T. Hartley, Yorkshire Rugby Union, Yorkshire Senior Competition and many others, including those of the relatives.

G. Bradford Rugby Union Leagues and Teams Active November and December 1894, reported in *Bradford Daily Telegraph*

Bradford District Competition: Allerton, Eccleshill Parish Church, Guiseley Parish Church, Rawdon, Thackley, Thornton Rangers, Woodville, Wyke.

Bradford Junior league (A Group): Bierley St. John's, Civil Service, Fagley, Four Lane Ends, G.N. Loco, Horton Church, Horton Trinity, Manningham Clarence, Manningham Loco, Saltaire Trinity.

Bradford Junior League (B Group): Beech Grove, Bradford Albion, Brownroyd Recreation A, Bowling Crescent, Bowling Primrose, Bowling

Rovers, Bowling St. Alban's, Church Hill, Idle Recreation, Princeville Recreation, St. James's.

Teams playing ordinary matches: Adelaide Street Rovers, Bankfoot St. Matthew's, Barkerend Rangers, Bedford Trinity, Boldshay Rovers, Bolton Woods Juniors, Borough West, Bowling Recreational, Bowling Trinity, Bradford Church Hill, Bradford Clarence, Bradford Exchange, Bradford Harlequins, Bradford Moor Albion, Bradford Moor Clarence, Bradford Victoria, Brownroyd, Cambridge Trinity, Chain Street Rovers, Chapman Rangers, Charnwood Albion, Church Hill Crescent, Church Hill Trinity, City Road Rangers, Clarendon Academy, Clayton Britannia, Clayton Rangers, Cleveland Street Albion, Cliffe Wood Albion, Cranbrook Trinity, Diamond Rovers, Daisy Hill, Dalcross, Dirkhill, Dirkhill Albion, Drighlington Albion, Drummond's Warp Dressers, Drummond's Weaving Overlookers, Eccleshill Trinity, Fieldhead Albion, Frizinghall, Fullerton Rovers, Girdlington Old Boys, GNR Nippers, Hallfield Rovers, Heaton Hornets, Horton Church, Horton United, Listerhills' Rovers, Little Horton Trinity, Longside Recreation, Low Moor, Maltby St. Albion, Manningham Clarence, Manningham Rangers, Manningham St. John's, Manningham St. John's Choir, Manningham Trinity, Midland Railway Nippers, Osborne Clarence, Park Crescent, Princeville Trinity, Queensbury Trinity, Ripley Ville Albion, St. Alban's, St.

Bartholomew's, St. Chrysostoms, St. Clement's, St. Peter's Recreation, St. Stephen's, Saltaire, Scholes White Star, Shearbridge Albion, Springfield Albion, Star Inn Rangers, Sticker Lane United, Sun Rovers, Technical College, Thornbury United, Try Mills Rovers, Valley Road Rangers, West Bowling Albion, West End Rovers, Westfield Albion, Westfield Britannia, Westgate Rangers, Wibsey United, Whetley Clarence.

H. Bradford Clubs Playing Football, Northern Union and Rugby Union in 1898

Northern Union Yorkshire Second Group

Bowling, Idle.

Rugby Union Yorkshire No.1 Competition

Alverthorpe, Bingley, Castleford, Cleckheaton, Featherstone, Hebden Bridge, Keighley, Morley, Mytholmroyd, Ossett, Shipley, Sowerby Bridge.

Bradford and District League

Bowling Rangers, Bingley Juniors, Buttershaw Rangers, Crossflatts, Brownroyd, Greenfield, Hightown Junior, Horton Athletic, Riddlesden, Shipley Clarence, Tong, Wilsden, Worth Village.

Bradford Junior League

Allerton Clarence, Bradford Albion, Horsforth Rovers, Horton Rovers, Idle Recreation, Idle Victoria, Four Lane Ends, Manningham Trinity, Thornton Trinity, West Bowling, Windhill Juniors.

Others

Acorn Rangers, Allerton Rangers, Annesley, Avenue Clarence, Bolton Woods, Bolton Woods Night School, Borough West, Bowling Crescent, Bradford Albion, Bradford Moor Clarence, Bradford Wanderers, Calverley Recreation,

College Road Albion, Eastbrook Dyeworks, Eccleshill Old Boys, Eccleshill Trinity, Fieldhead, Fieldhead Albion, Gilstead, Greenfield Rangers, Greenfield Trinity, Hillside Crescent, Holme Top, Horton Clarence, Laisterdyke Albion, Little Horton Rovers A, Manningham Clarence, Manningham Recreation, Manningham St. Mark's, Manningham Trinity, Marshfield, Moorhead, Old Hortonians, Princeville Albion, Princeville Rovers, Round Street Juniors, Saltaire Rovers, Shearbridge Albion, Shipley Juniors, Undercliffe Trinity, Wapping Rovers, Whetley Albion, Windhill Albion, Windhill Crag, Woodroyd Albion, Wrose Hill White Star, Wyke Juniors.

Football

West Yorkshire League

Bowling, Yeadon.

Bradford Junior League

Bradford Wanderers, Churchill Crescent, Frizinghall Juniors, Moorlands United, Park View, St. Jude's, Sedgefield Rovers, West View.

Bradford Schools Competition

Barkerend, Belle Vue, Carlton Street, Christ Church, Drummond Road, Hanson, Lilycroft, Lorne Street, Princeville, St. James's, St. Mary's, Usher Street, Wapping, Whetley Lane. All schools matches were played at Bowling Park, Manningham Park and Peel Park.

Others

Airedale, Barkerend Trinity, Belgrave, Bolton Church, Bradford Moor Juniors, Bradford Wanderers, Chatham Street, Chaucer Place, Clayton, Cleveland Park, Cobden Street, Fagley Juniors, Four Lane Ends, Frizinghall Recreation, Frizinghall St. Margaret's, Girlington, Harewood Recreation, Heaton Church, Heaton Syke, Holy Cross Mission, Horton Britannia, Horton Church, Hoxton Street United, John Gate Wanderers, Little Horton Rovers, Midland Rovers, Moorlands, Moorlands United, Park Chapel, Park View, Peel Park, Prospect

Rovers, Pudsey, Rupert Street Albion, St. Andrew's Girlington, St. Andrew's Juniors, St. James's Evening School, St. James's Night School, St. James's Recreation, St. Jude's, St. Luke's, St. Mary's Choir, Sandford Wanderers, Sedgefield Rangers, Shearbridge Wanderers, Stoneacre Place, Wesley Place, West View, Westfield Albion.

I. Bradford Cricket Leagues and Member Clubs 1902

Airedale & Wharfedale League: Baildon Green, Calverley, Eccleshill, Farsley, Guiseley, Otley, Rawdon, Stanningley & Farsley Britannia, Undercliffe, Windhill, Yeadon.

Bradford Alliance League: Friends' Adult, Great Horton Church, Hollings, Lingfield Dyeworks, Manningham St. Luke's, Manningham St. Mark's, Manningham Wesleyan, Rehoboth P.M., St. Jude's, Tennyson P.P.M, West Bowling, Westgate U.M.F.C.

Bradford & District League: Bankfoot, Birkenshaw, Charlestown, Dudley Hill, East Bierley, Greengates, Laisterdyke, Thackley, Tong Manor, Tong Park, Shelf, Sticker Lane.

Bradford & District Church of England League: Bradford All Saints, Great Horton Church, Keighley Parish Church, Queensbury Church, St. John's Church (Bowling), St. Michael's Church, Wilsden Church.

Bradford Licensed Victuallers League: Churchill, Cliffe Wood Hotel, Greenwood, Parkside Hotel, Shakespeare, Sun.

Bradford Local League: Bowling, Great Horton Wesleyan, Greenhill Wesleyan, Horton Primitives, Little Horton Congregational, Pudsey Congs, Pudsey Wesleyans, Sandy Lane, Wibsey.

Bradford Mutual Sunday School League: Allerton Congregational, Clayton H.N.W., Fagley Mission, Frizinghall Church, Girdlington Wesleyans XI, Hallfield Baptist, Princeville Mission, Queensbury Church, St. Michael's, Trinity Baptist.

Bradford Sunday Schools League: Brownroyd Primitives, Girlington Wesleyans, Leeds Road Baptists, Otley Road Wesleyans, Pudsey Parish Church, Pudsey Wesleyans, Richmond T.W., White Abbey Wesleyans.

Low Moor & District League: Buttershaw St. Paul's, Idle Independent, Woodlands, (incomplete list of clubs).

Manningham & District League: Bethel, Manningham Junior, St. Mary's Gymnasium, White Abbey Juniors, (incomplete list of clubs).

West Bradford League: Allerton, Clayton, Cullingworth, Denholme, Ingrow, Lidget Green, Manningham Mills, Mountain Mills, Queensbury, Thornton, Wilsden.

Wharfedale & Airedale League: All Saints, Esholt, Frizinghall Wesleyans, Horton Dyeworks, Idle Baptist, Midland Dyeworks, Morton, Shipley Birklands, Shipley St. Paul's, Riddlesden.

Yorkshire Cricket Council: Barnsley, Bingley, Bowling Old Lane, Bradford, Brighouse, Dewsbury & Saville, Elland, Halifax, Harrogate, Hull, Idle, Ilkley, Leeds, Keighley, Otley, Rotherham, Saltaire, Sheffield United, Skipton, Wakefield, Yeadon.

J. Bradford Association Football Leagues and Member Clubs 1902

Bradford & District League

Division One: Airedale Reserves, Church Hill, Cullingworth, Eccleshill, Great Horton, Menston, Oakenshaw, Otley, Park View, St. Jude's, Sedgfield, Swaine House United.

Division Two: Four Lane Ends, Greenfield, Manningham Rangers, Manningham St. Mark's, Manningham St. Paul's, St. Cuthbert's, White Abbey Wesleyans, Wyke Parish Church.

Bradford & District Alliance:

Division One: Bradford Pin Company, Eccleshill Reserves, Girlington Shamrocks, Great Horton Reserves, Greengates, Guiseley Celtic, Guiseley New Scarborough, Heaton, Queensbury, Southend Wesleyans, Swain House United Reserves, Thornton.

Division Two: All Saints, Bowling, Bramley Street Mission, Dalcross, Manningham Clarence, Manningham Recreation, Oakenshaw Reserves, Thornbury, Springfield Athletic, West Bowling, Wyke Parish Church Reserves.

Division Three: Bedford Trinity, Bierley, Bowling Reserves, City United, Bradford Rovers, Bradford Wanderers, Eccleshill Rovers, Holme Lane, Idle Parish Church, Manningham Recreation Reserves, Villa United.

Bradford & District Combination:

Division One: Boldshay, Bowling Athletic, Croft & Perkins, Daisy Hill, Girlington United, Horton Rovers, Laisterdyke Albion, Parish Church, Parkside Crescent, Prospect, St. Columba, St. Oswald's, Victor Albion.

Division Two: Bankfoot Rovers, Birch Lane, Bowbridge, Bradford Celtic, Church Hill Wanderers, College Road, Lister Hills, Undercliffe Rovers, Westfield, Whetley United.

Bradford & District Labour League:

Division One: Airedale, Churchill, Eccleshill, Great Horton, Park View, Menston, Oakenshaw, St. Jude's, Sedgefield, Swaine Hill.

Division Two: Four Lane Ends, Manningham St. Mark's, Manningham Rangers, Menston Reserves, St. Cuthbert's, White Abbey Wesleyan.

Bradford Schools League:

Senior Division: Barkerend, Belle Vue, Carlton Street, Great Horton Board, Fairweather Green, Hanson, Lilycroft, Lorne Street, Usher Street, Whetley Lane.

Junior Division: Carlton Commercial, Drummond Road, Highfield, Horton National, Parish Church, Ryan Street, Tyersal, Wapping.

K. Bradford Northern Union Leagues and Clubs 1902**Bradford & District Union:**

Division One: Allerton, Buttershaw, Croft & Perkins, Crossroads, Greenfield, Greengates, Haworth, Keighley Clarence, Keighley St. Anne's, Lidget Green, Pudsey Clarence, Victoria Rangers, Victoria United, Worth Village.

Division Two: Allerton Clarence, Bradford St. Martin's, Bolton Trinity, Brownroyd, Denholme, Hartshead Moor, Highgate Rangers, Horton United, Idle Recreational, New Road Side Reserves, Pudsey Trinity, Shipley Juniors, Undercliffe, Woodroyd.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

1. Archival and Manuscript Sources

Bradford Schools' Football Association records.

Drummond Road Infants School log books.

Northern Rugby League, minutes of general committee 1903-05.

The Football League, minutes of management committee 1899-08.

2. Contemporary Publications

Baines, Edward and Harland, John, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, (Routledge, 1868).

James Burnley, *The Streets of Bradford*.

City of Bradford Exhibition, catalogue of the works of art in the Cartwright Memorial Hall, (Bradford: Armitage & Ibbetson, 1904).

Cudworth, William, *Condition of the Industrial Classes of Bradford & District*, (Bradford: 1885).

Cudworth, William, *Historical Notes on the Bradford Corporation*, (Bradford: 1881).

Cudworth, William, *Rambles Round Horton*, (Bradford, 1886).

‘Collection of newspaper articles relating to Bradford Football Club from 1885’, Item 9722, World Rugby Museum.

Escott, T.H.S, *Social Transformations of the Victorian Age, a survey of court and country*, (Seeley, 1897).

Huddersfield Cricket & Athletic Club Grand Bazaar, (Huddersfield, 1895).

James, John, *History and Topography of Bradford*, (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1841).

James, John, FSA., *Continuation and Additions to the History of Bradford and its Parish*, (Bradford: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866).

John Sowden's Exhibition, two hundred well-known Bradfordians, British Picture Gallery, Bridge Street, Bradford, 1891.

Marshall, Rev. Fank, *Football, the rugby union game*, (Cassell, 1892).

Official Souvenir of the City of Bradford Cartwright Memorial Hall Exhibition, May to October 1904, (Bradford: Trotter & Co., 1904).

Parker, James, *Illustrated History of Wibsey, Low Moor, Oakenshaw, Wike, Norwood Green, Judy Brigg, Royd's Hall, Cooley and Shelf*, (Bradford: Feather, 1902).

Scruton, William, *Bradford Fifty Years Ago*, (Bradford: Sewell, 1897).

Scruton, William, *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford*, (Bradford: 1889).

Stratten Holmes, Robert, *The History of Yorkshire County Cricket, 1822-1903*, (1904).

Wemyss Reid, Thomas, *Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster*, (Chapman and Wall, 1888).

Wright, Joseph, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Vol.III, H-L, (Henry Frowde, 1902).

Newspapers and Periodicals

Athletic News

Bell's Life in London

Birmingham Daily Post

Bradford Bystander

Bradford Cricketers Journal

Bradford Daily Argus

Bradford Daily Telegraph

Bradford Observer

Bradford Observer and Halifax, Huddersfield, and Keighley Reporter

Bramham College Magazine

The City Gent

Code 13

Daily News

Derby Mercury

Edinburgh Gazette

Glasgow Herald

The Graphic

The Greenfield Pulpit

Huddersfield Daily Chronicle

Leeds Mercury

Leeds Times

Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper

London Daily Express

London Gazette

Manchester Guardian

Morning Leader

Morning Post

Otago Witness

Pall Mall Gazette

Sheffield & Rotherham Independent

Sports Echo

Sporting Life

The Standard

The Star

Western Mail

Yorkshire Evening Post

Yorkshire Herald

Yorkshire Illustrated

Yorkshire Observer

Yorkshire Owl

Yorkshire Post

Yorkshire Sports

The Yorkshireman

Trade Directories

Edward Baines & William Parson, History, *Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, Vol.I, Vol.II (Liverpool: Wales, 1825).

Barrett's Directory of Burnley, 1893, (Preston: Barrett, 1896).

Industries of Yorkshire, (1866).

Industries of Yorkshire, (1888).

The Post Office Bradford Directory 1879-80, (Bradford: Byles & Son, 1879).

Secondary Sources

1. General Articles and Books

Allison, John, 'The Bradford Canal, a brief history', *The Bradford Antiquary*, third series, number 9, 2005.

Aronsfield, C.C., 'German Jews in Nineteenth Century Bradford', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol.53, 1981.

Ashton, Rosemary, *Little Germany, exile and asylum in Victorian England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Avery, Alan, *The Story of Bradford*, (Pickering: Blackthorn, 2008).

Ayres, John, *Architecture in Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Civic Society, n.d.).

Bailey, Peter, *Lesiure and Class in Victorian England, rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885*, (Routledge, 1978, reprint 2007).

Barton, Susan, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

Baughan, Peter E., *The Midland Railway, north of Leeds*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1966).

Beaver, Patrick, *A Pedlar's Legacy, the origins and history of Empire Stores*, (Henry Melland, 1981).

Best, Geoffrey, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75*, (Fontana, 1979).

Michael Birdsall, Gina Szekley, Peter Walker, *The Illustrated History of Bradford's Suburbs*, (Derby: Breedon, 2002).

Bishop, Anne, 'Cartwright Memorial Hall and the Great Bradford Exhibition of 1904', *The Bradford Antiquary*, third series, volume four.

Bowlery, Catherine, & Brimblecombe, Peter, 'Environmental Pressures on Building Design and Manchester's John Rylands Library', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 13, No.3, 2000.

Bradford, 1847-1947, (Bradford: Yorkshire Observer, 1947).

Bradford, A Centenary City, (Bradford: Bradford Metropolitan Council, 1997).

Bradford Corporation, *Education in Bradford since 1870*, (Bradford: Bradford Corporation, 1970).

Bramham, the village in times past, (Bramham: Bramham in Times Past, 1994).

Briggs, Asa, *Victorian Cities*, (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1971).

Bronstein, Jamie, *Caught in the Machinery: Workplace Accidents and Injured Workers in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

Burke, Peter, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century London', Barry Reay, ed., *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-century England*, (Croom Helm, 1985).

Cain, P.J., and Hopkins, A.G., *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993).

Cannadine, David, 'Victorian Cities: how different?', R.J. Morris & Richard Rodger, eds., *The Victorian City, a reader in British urban history, 1820-1914*, (Longman, 1993).

Carley, Lionel, *Deilius, a life in letters, 1862-1908*, (Scolar Press, 1983).

Chase, Malcom, *Chartism, a new history*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

Coates, D.M., *Bradford City Tramways, 1882-1950*, (Skipton: Wyvern, 1984).

Conboy, Martin, *The Press and Popular Culture*, (Sage, 2004).

Cooper, Albert, *All Saints' Church, Bradford, Centenary, 1864-1964*, (Bradford: 1964).

Cooter, Roger and Luckin, Bill, eds., *Accidents in History, injuries, fatalities and social relations*, (Amsterdam / Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1997).

Croft, D.J., *Bradford Tramways*, (Oakwood, 1976).

Cunningham, Hugh, *The Volunteer Force, a social and political history, 1859-1908*, (Croom Helm, 1975).

Davies, A, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty. Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939*, (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1992).

Dietz, Sarah, *British Entrepreneurship in Poland, a case study of Bradford Mills at Marki near Warsaw, 1883-1939*, (Farnham, Ashgate, 2015).

Dixon, Roger and Muthesius, Stefan, *Victorian Architecture*, (Thames & Hudson, 1978).

Duby, Georges, 'The Diffusionist Cultural Pattern in Feudal Society', *Past and Present*, 39, 1968.

Duckett, Bob & Waddington-Feather, John, *Bradford, History and Guide*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2005).

English Heritage, *Manchester, the warehouse legacy, an introduction and guide*, (English Heritage, 2002).

Fenby, Eric, *The Great Composers, Delius*, (Faber and Faber, 1971).

Ferguson, Niall, *Empire, how Britain made the modern world*, (Penguin, 2004).

Fieldhouse, Joseph, *Bradford*, (Bradford: Watmoughs & Bradford Council, revised edition, 1978).

Firth, Gary, *A History of Bradford*, (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997).

Firth, Gary, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution, an economic history, 1760-1840*, (Halifax: Ryburn, 1990).

Firth, Gary, *The Leeds & Liverpool Canal in Yorkshire*, (Stroud: Tempus, 1999).

Firth, Gary, *Street Characters of a Victorian City, John Sowden's Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Art Galleries & Museums, 1993).

Firth, Gary, 'The Bradford Trade in the Nineteenth Century', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowett eds, *Victorian Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1982).

Gaskell, S. Martin, 'Housing and the Lower Middle Class, 1870-1914', Geoffrey Crossick, ed., *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, (Croom Helm, 1977).

Gunn, Simon, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class, ritual and authority in the English industrial city, 1840-1914*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

Hall, Alan, *The Story of Bradford*, (Stroud: History Press, 2013).

Hall, Graham,, 'Classic Cards, Bradford, the history of W.N. Sharpe Ltd.', *The Bradford Antiquary*, third series, number eleven, 2007.

Hampton, Mark, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950*, (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2004).

Handlin, Oscar, 'The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study', Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, eds., *The Historian and the City*, (Cambridge: MIT, 1966).

Hansen, Astrid, *Sharp to Blunt, the story of Horton Hall, Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 2000).

Hardman, Malcolm, *Ruskin and Bradford, an experiment in Victorian cultural history*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

Harrison, J.F.C., *Late Victorian Britain 1875-1901*, (Fontana, 1990).

Hartwell, Clare, *Manchester, Pevsner architectural guides*, (Yale University Press, 2001).

Hawkins, R.N.P, *Fattorini*, (Baldwin, 1989).

Hird, Horace, *Bradford Remembrancer, twenty-six essays on people, or incidents in their lives which are worthy of remembrance*, (Bradford: McDonald, 1972).

Hobsbawm, Eric, 'Mass Producing Traditions: Europe 1870-1914', Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Rangers, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Holdsworth, Peter, *The Rebel Tyke, Bradford and J.B. Priestley*, (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1994).

Hudson, Milton, *The Bradford Canal*, (Shipley: Windhill Memories Group, 1996).

Hunt, Tristram, *Building Jerusalem, the rise and fall, of the Victorian city*, (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004).

Jackson, Patrick, *Education Act Forster, a political biography of W.E. Forster (1818-1886)*, Associated University Press, 1997).

James, David, *Bradford*, (Halifax: Ryburn Publishing, 1990).

Jefferson, Alan, *Delius*, (Dent & Sons, 1972).

Jenkyns, Richard, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980).

Jennings, Paul, *The Public House in Bradford 1770-1970*, (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995).

Jennings, Paul, *The Local, a history of the English pub*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2007).

Joyce, Patrick, *Work, Society and Politics, The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980).

Kirby, Peter, 'Miner absenteeism and customary holidays in the Great Northern Coalfield, 1775-1864', *Manchester Papers in Economic and Social History*, 65, 2009.

Lawrence, Jon, 'Class and gender in the making of urban Toryism, 1880-1914', *English Historical Review*, July 1993.

Laybourn, Keith, 'The Defence of the Bottom Dog, the Independent Labour Party in local politics', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowett, eds., *Victorian Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Metropolitan Council, 1982).

Laybourn, Keith, 'The Manningham Mills Strike: its importance in Bradford history', *The Bradford Antiquary*, new series, part XLVI, Oct. 1976.

Koditschek, Theodore, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society, Bradford, 1750-1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Law, Margaret, *The Story of Bradford*, (Bradford: Pitman, 1913).

Lees, Andrew and Hollen Lees, Lynn, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Litten, Julian, *The English Way of Death, the common funeral since 1450*, (1991).

Mackenzie, Jacquey, 'The German Immigrants, their influence nineteenth century Bradford', Bob Duckett, ed., *Bradford Chapters, episodes in the history of a city*, (Leeds: Propagator Press, 2007).

Mackenzie, John M., *Propaganda and Empire, the manipulation of British public opinion, 1880-1960*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

Manuel, Geoffrey, 'Building Control in Bradford, deposited building plans, their origins and uses with particular reference to Little Germany', *The Bradford Antiquary*, third series, number five.

Matless, David, *Landscape and Englishness*, (Reaktion, 1998).

Morley, John, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, (Studio Vista, 1971).

Morris, R.J., *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850*, (MacMillan, 1979).

Morris, R.J., *Class, Sect and Party, the making of the British middle class: Leeds, 1820-50*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

Moxon, Tony, *Hoc Age, Bradford Grammar School 1818-1996*, (Bradford: MCB University Press, 1999).

Musgrove, Frank, *The North of England, a history from Roman times to the present*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

Norman Smith, David, *The Railway and its Passengers, a social history*, (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1988).

Page, W., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, a history of the County of York*, Vol.III (1913).

Peacock, Alfred, *Bradford Chartism, 1838-40*, (York: York University, 1969).

Pearce, Cyril, *The Manningham Mills Strike, Bradford, December 1890-April 1891*, (Hull: Hull University of Hull, 1975).

Pearce, Malcolm and Stewart, Geoffrey, *British Political History, 1867-2001, democracy and decline*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992).

Pearce, Malcom and Stewart, Geoffrey, *British Political History, 1867-2001, democracy and decline*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992).

Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire the West Riding*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959).

Pimlott, J.A.R., *The Englishman's Holiday, a social history*, (Faber & Faber, 1947).

Pollard, Sidney, *The Genesis of Modern Management, a study of the industrial revolution in Great Britain*, (Cambridge, Mass., Havard University Press, 1965).

Powell, Geoffrey, *The History of the Green Howards, three hundred years of service*,
(Arms and Armour, 1992).

Priestley, J.B., *English Journey*, (Heinemann, 1934).

Priestley, J.B., *Margin Released, a writer's reminiscences and reflections*,
(Heinemann, 1963).

Read, Donald, *Press and People, 1790-1850, opinion in three English cities*,
(Edward Arnold, 1961).

Reid, Douglas, 'The decline of Saint Monday 1766-1876', *Past and Present*, 71
(1), 1976.

Reynolds, Jack, *The Great Paternalist, Titus Salt and the growth of nineteenth
century Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Art Galleries & Museums, 1983).

Reynolds, Jack and Laybourn, Keith, 'The Emergence of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford', *International Review of Social History* (1975), Vol.20, issue 3.

Ritvo, Harriet, *The Animal Estate, the English and other creatures in the Victorian age*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987).

Roberts, John. S, *Little Germany*, (Bradford Art Galleries and Museums, 1977).

Roberts, John S., 'A Squire who made a Village', *Telegraph & Argus*, 10 June 1972.

Russell, Dave, 'Provincial Concerts in England, 1865-1914: A Case-Study of Bradford', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 114, No. 1 (1989).

Russell Dave, *Looking North, Northern England and the national imagination*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

Rydell, Robert W. and Kroes, Rob, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna, the Americanization of the World, 1869-1922*, (University of Chicago Press, 2012).

Schmucki, Barbara, 'The Machine in the City, public appropriation of the tramway in Britain and Germany, 1870-1915', *Journal of Urban History*, 38(6), 2012.

Scribner, Bob, 'Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?', *History of European Ideas*, x (1989).

Sheeran, George, *Brass Castles, West Yorkshire new rich and their houses 1800-1914*, (Stroud: Tempus, 1993).

Sheeran, George, *The Buildings of Bradford, an illustration architectural history*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2005).

Sheeran, George, *The Victorian Houses of Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1990).

Shephard, Ben, *Kitty and the Prince*, (Profile Books, 1993).

Smith, Jonathan, 'The Strike of 1825', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowett, eds., *Victorian Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Libraries, 1982).

Stevens Curl, James, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2000).

Storch, Robert, 'Introduction: Persistence and Change in Nineteenth-Century Popular Culture', Robert Storch, ed., *Popular Culture in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Croom Helm, 1982).

Taylor, Simon and Gibson, Kathryn, *Manningham, character and diversity in a Bradford suburb*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2010).

Thompson, E.P., 'Time, work discipline and industrial capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38 (1).

Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963).

Thompson, F.M.L., *The Rise of Respectable Society, a social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Turner, Graham, *The North Country*, (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967).

Twells, Alison, 'A Christian and Civilised Land, the British middle class and the civilising mission, 1820-42', Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, eds., *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism, middle-class identity in Britain*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Underdown, David, 'Regional Cultures? Local Variations in Popular Culture during the Early Modern Period', Tim Harris, ed., *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850*, (MacMillan, 1995).

Verity, *A Short History of The Bradford Mechanics' Institute and Library 1832 – 2006*, 2nd Edition, 2006.

Wales, Katie, *Northern English, a social and cultural history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Waller, P. J., *Town, City and Nation, England 1850-1914*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983).

Walton, John K. and Wilcox, Alistair, eds., *Low Life and Moral Improvement in Mid-Victorian England: Liverpool through the journalism of Hugh Shimmin*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991).

Walton, John K., 'The demand for working-class seaside holidays in Victorian England', *Economic History Review*, second series, 34 (1981).

Walton, John K., 'Holidays and the discipline of industrial labour: a historians view', E. Kennedy and H. Pussard, eds., *Defining the Field: 30 years of the Leisure Studies Association*, (Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, 2006).

Walton, John K. and Poole, Robert, 'The Lancashire Wakes in the Nineteenth Century', Robert D. Storch, ed., *Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century England*, (Croom Helm, 1982).

Walton, John K., *Lancashire, a social history, 1558-1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

Walvin, James, *A Child's World, a social history of English Childhood 1800-1914*, (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 1984).

Waters, Chris, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884-1914*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

Wawn, Andrew, *The Vikings and the Victorians, inventing the old north in nineteenth-century Britain*, (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000).

Wiener, Joel H., ed., *Papers for the Millions, the new journalism in Britain, 1850s-1914*, (New York: Greenwood, 1988).

Whittaker, Alan and Cryer, Bob, *The Queensbury Lines*, (Clapham: Dalesman, 1984).

Wilson, A.N., *The Victorians*, (Hutchinson, 2007).

Wolfe, Humbert, *Now a Stranger*, (Cassell, 1933).

Wright, D.G., *The Chartist Risings in Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Libraries & Information Services, 1987).

2. Academic Articles, books and papers on sport

Allison, Lincoln & MacLean, Rusty, 'There's a Deathless Myth on the Close Tonight: re-assessing Rugby's place in the history of sport', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol.29, no.13, Sept. 2012.

Arnold, A.J., *A Game That Would Pay: a business history of professional football in Bradford*, (Duckworth, 1988).

Bateman, Anthony and Hill, Jeffrey, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Cricket*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Bateman, Anthony, 'Cricket pastoral and Englishness', Anthony Bateman and Jeffrey Hill, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Cricket*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Beaven, Brad, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

Beck, Peter J., *Scoring for Britain: International football and international politics 1900-1939*, (Cass, 1999).

Birley, Derek, *A Social History of English Cricket*, (Arum, 1999).

Birley, Derek, *Sport and the Making of Britain*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

Brailsford, Dennis, 'Sporting Days in Eighteenth Century England' *Journal of Sport History*, 9, 3, (1982).

Budd, Catherine and Carter, Neil, 'A Noble Game Became Degraded': The rise and fall of professional football in Middlesbrough, 1889-1894', *North East History Journal*, no. 45 (2014).

Carr, R., *English Foxhunting: a history*, (Weidenfeld, 1976).

Clapson, Mark, *A Bit of a Flutter, popular gambling and English society, c. 1823-1961* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

Collins, Tony, 'Early Football and the Emergence of Modern Soccer, c. 1840-1880', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, (2015).

Collins, Tony, 'History, Theory and the "Civilising Process"', *Sport in History*, 25, 2 (Aug. 2005).

Collins, Tony, *A Social History of English Rugby Union*, (Abingdon, Routledge, 2009).

Collins, Tony, *Rugby's Great Split: class culture and the origins of Rugby League Football*, (Frank Cass, 1998).

Collins, Tony, *Sport in Capitalist Society, a short history*, (Routledge, 2013).

Collins, Tony, Martin, John, Vamplew, Wray, *Encyclopaedia of Traditional British Rural Sports*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

Collins, Tony & Vamplew, Wray, *Mud, Sweat and Beers, a cultural history of sport and alcohol*, (Oxford: Berg, 2002).

Croll, Andy, *Civilizing the Urban, popular culture and public space in Merthyr, c. 1870-1914*, (Cardiff: University of Wales), 2000.

Cronin, Mike, 'Introduction: *Sport and the British – 21 Years On*', *Sport in History*, volume 31, number 2, June 2011, p.135.

Cunningham, Hugh, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, (Croom Helm, 1980).

Curry, Graham and Dunning, Eric, 'The Problem with Revisionism, how new data on the origins of modern football have led to hasty conclusions', *Soccer and Society*, 14, no.4, (2013).

Day, Dave, ed., *Pedestrianism*, (Crewe: MMU Sport and Leisure History, 2014).

Davies, Peter and Light, Robert, *Cricket and Community in England, 1800 to the present day*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

Dine, Philip, *French Rugby Football, a cultural history*, (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

Dixon, Pamela, Garnham, Neal and Jackson, Andrew, 'Shareholders and Shareholdings, the case of the football company in late Victorian England', *Business History*, Vol.46, No.4, October 2004.

Dunning, Eric and Sheard, Kenneth, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, (Routledge, 2005).

Durie, Alastair, 'Unconscious Benefactors, grouse shooting in Scotland, 1780-1914', *International History of Sport*, 15 (3), (Dec. 1998).

Fishwick, Nicholas, *English Football and Society, 1910-1950*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

Garnham, Neal and Jackson, Andrew, 'Who invested in Victorian football clubs? The case of Newcastle-upon-Tyne', *Soccer and Society*, 4:1 (2006).

Genders, Roy, *League Cricket in England*, (Werner Laurie, 1952).

Goldstein, Warren, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989).

Goulstone, John, 'The Working Class Origins of Modern Football', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17, 1, (2008).

Gregson, Keith and Huggins, Mike, 'Ashbrooke Whit Sports, Sunderland and its records: a case study of amateurism in late Victorian and Edwardian athletic and cycling competitions', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 31, issue 9, (June 2014).

Griffin, Emma, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Hare, Geoff, 'What is an International Match? French football clubs and the earliest 'international matches'', *Sport in History*, DOI: 10.1080/17460263.2015.1071081.

Harvey, Adrian, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Harvey, Adrian, *Football, the first hundred years, the untold story*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

Hay, Roy, Harvey, Adrian, Smith, Mel, 'Football Before Codification, the problems of myopia', *Soccer and Society*, vol.16, issue 2-3, 2015.

Heywood, Brian, 'Ashes cricketers and the Lancashire League', *Sport in Society*, volume 15, issue 8, (2012).

Hignell, Andrew, 'Participants and Providers: A micro-scale analysis of cricket in Cardiff during the nineteenth-century', *Sport in Society*, Vol.15, No.2, March 2012.

Hill, Jeffrey, 'Anecdotal Evidence, Sport, the Newspaper Press and History', Murray G. Phillips, ed., *Deconstructing Sport History: A postmodern analysis*, (Albany: Suny, 2006).

Hill, Jeffery, 'League Cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940', Richard Holt (ed), *Sport and the Working class in Modern Britain*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

Holt, Richard, 'Football and the Urban way of Life in Nineteenth-Century Britain', J.A. Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism, British culture and sport at home and abroad 1700-1914*, (Frank Cass, 1988).

Holt, Richard, 'Women, Men and Sport in France, c.1870-1914: An Introductory Survey', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring, 1991).

Holt, Richard, *Sport and Society in Modern France*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1981).

Holt, Richard, *Sport and the British, a modern history*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

Holt, Richard, 'Sport and the British: Its origins, ideas and composition', *Sport in History*, volume 31, number 2, June 2011.

Holt, Richard, ed., *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

Huggins, Mike, 'Death, memorialisation and the Victorian sporting hero', *Local Historian*, 38, 4, (Nov. 2008).

Huggins, Mike, 'Gone but not forgotten: sporting heroes, heritage and graveyard commemoration', *Rethinking History*, Vol. 16, 4, 2012.

Huggins, Mike, 'Leisure and Sport in Middlesbrough 1840-1914', A.J. Pollard, ed., *Town and Community*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1996).

Huggins, Mike, *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790-1914, a social and economic history*, (Frank Cass, 2000).

Huggins, Mike, *The Victorians and Sport*, (Hambledon & London, 2004).

Huggins, Mike and Tolson, John, 'The Railways and Sport in Britain, a critical reassessment', *Journal of Transport History*, volume 22, number 2, September 2011.

Itzkowitz, David, *Peculiar Privilege, a social history of English fox hunting*, (Hassocks: Harvester, 1977).

James, Gary and Day, Dave, 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840-1884', *Sport in History*, Vol.34, No.1, (2014).

Johnes, Martin, 'Great Britain', S.W. Pope and John Nauright eds., *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

Kennedy, David, 'Locality and Professional Football Club Development, the demographics of football club support in late Victorian Liverpool', *Soccer & Society*, vol.5, No.3, autumn 2004.

Kennedy, David, 'Special Issue: The Split: a social and political history of Everton & Liverpool football clubs, 1878-1914', *Soccer & Society*, Vol.12, No.4, July 2011.

Kerrigan, Colm, *East London: A Hotbed of Football, 1868-1918*, (Upminster: 3-2 Books, 2007).

Kerrigan, Colm, *Teachers and Football, schoolboy association football in England, 1885-1915*, (Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005).

Kitching, Gavin, 'Old Football and the New Codes: some thoughts on the origins of football debate and suggestions for further research', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 28, issue 13, 2011.

Little, Charles, 'The Maori Man for Manningham: Searching for George Stephenson', paper presented at British Society for Sports History Annual Conference, Leicester, May 2004.

Lowerson, John, *Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870-1914*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

MacAloon, John J., *This Great Symbol, Pierre de Coubertin and the origins of the modern Olympic games*, (University of Chicago Press, 1981).

MacAloon, John J., 'The Vision at Rugby Chapel', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 23. No. 3, (2006).

Malcolmson, Robert W., *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850*, (Cambridge University Press, 1973).

Mangan, J.A., *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, (Frank Cass, 2000).

Mason, Tony, 'All the Winners and the Half-Times', *The Sports Historian*, 13, (May 1993).

Mason, Tony, 'Sport', Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds., *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994).

Mason, Tony, 'Sporting News 1860-1914', Michael Harris & Alan J. Lee, eds., *The Press and English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, (Associated University Press, 1986).

Mason, Tony, *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915*, (Harvester 1980).

Meller, Helen, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

Metcalfe, Alan, 'Potshare bowling' in the Mining Communities of east Northumberland 1800-1914', Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

Metclafe, Alan, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community, the social economy of leisure in north-east England, 1820-1914*, (Routledge, 2006).

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne, 'George Martin, wizard of pedestrianism and Manchester's sporting entrepreneur', Dave Day, ed., *Sporting Lives*, (Crewe: MMU Institute for Performance Research, 2011).

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne, 'The Manchester Milers 1850-1870', Dave Day, ed., *Pedestrianism*, (Crewe: MMU Sport and Leisure History, 2014).

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne, 'Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester', *Sport in History*, Vol.34, No.2, (2014).

Porter, Dilwyn, 'Entrepreneurship', S.W. Pope and John Nauright, eds., *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

Porter, Dilwyn, 'Sports History and Modern British History', *Sport in History*, volume 31, number 2, June 2011.

Radford, Peter, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay, sport, gambling and adventure in Regency times*, (Review, 2001).

Reid, Douglas A., 'Beasts and Brutes: popular blood sports, c.1780-1860', Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

Richards, Huw, *A Game for Hooligans, the history of Rugby Union*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2006).

Russell, Dave, 'Sporadic and Curious; the emergence of rugby and soccer zones in Yorkshire and Lancashire, c.1860-1914', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.5, No.2, (September 1988).

Russell, Dave, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', *Manchester Region History Review*, 20, (2009).

Russell, Dave, 'The Pursuit of Leisure', D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowett, eds., *Victorian Bradford*, (Bradford: Bradford Metropolitan Council, 1982).

Russell, Dave, *Football and the English, a social history of association football, 1863-1995* (Preston: Carnegie, 1997).

Sandiford, Keith, 'English Cricket Crowds During the Victorian Age', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (winter 1982).

Sandiford, Keith, *Cricket and the Victorians*, (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994).

Sorez, Julien, 'A history of football in Paris, challenges faced by sport practised within a capital city (1890-1940)', *The International journal of the History of Sport*, 29:8 (2012).

Steen, Rob, *Floodlights and Touchlines, a history of spectator sport*, (Bloomsbury, 2014).

Stepney, Paul, 'Towards a Politics of Football, the case of Bradford Park Avenue', Alan Tomlinson, ed., *Explorations in Football Culture*, (Brighton: Brighton Polytechnic, 1983).

Stone, Duncan, 'Cricket's regional identities: the development of cricket and identity in Yorkshire and Surrey', *Sport in Society*, Vol. 11, No. 5, September 2008.

Swaine, Peter, 'Cultural Continuity and Football in Nineteenth-century Lancashire', *Sport in History*, Vol.28, No.4, Dec. 2008.

Tate, Steve, 'Edward Hulton and sports journalism in late-Victorian Manchester', Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c.1800 to the present, an introduction', Dave Russell, ed., *Sport in Manchester, Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 20, (Manchester: 2009).

Taylor, Matthew, *The Association Game, a history of British football*, (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2008).

Taylor, Matthew, *Building a National League: the Football League and the North of England, 1888-1939*, in *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, series 2, Vol.1, No.1, (2005).

Taylor, Matthew, 'Editorial - sport, transnationalism, and global history', *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 8, issue 2, July 2013.

Taylor, Matthew, 'Football Archives and the Historian', *Business Archive*, 78, 1999.

Taylor, Matthew, *The Leaguers, the making of professional football in England, 1900-1939*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005).

Tomlinson, Alan, *Sport and Leisure Cultures*, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

Tranter, Neil, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1914*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Underdown, David, *Start of Play, cricket and culture in eighteenth-century England*, (Penguin, 2000).

Vamplew, Wray, *Pay up and Play the Game*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Vamplew, Wray, *The Turf, a social and economic history of horse racing*, (Penguin, 1976).

Vamplew, Wray, 'Sport and Industrialization, an economic interpretation of the changes in popular sport in nineteenth-century England', J.A. Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism, British culture and sport at home and abroad 1700-1914*, (Frank Cass, 1988).

Walvin, James, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950*, (Longman, 1978).

Walvin, James, *The People's Game, the history of football revisited*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994).

Williams, Jack, 'Church, sport and identity in the North, 1900-1939', eds. Jeff Hill and Jack Williams, *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, (Keele: Keele University Press, 1996).

Williams, Jack, *Cricket and England, a cultural and social history of the inter-war years*, (Frank Cass, 1999).

3. Non-Academic Articles and Books on Sport

Airedale & Wharfedale Senior Cricket League, golden jubilee brochure, (Otley: Smith Settle, 1986).

Barker, Tony, *Cricket's Wartime Sanctuary, the first-class flight to Bradford*, (Cardiff: ACS, 2009).

Breeze, Paul, and Greenfield, Stuart, *Colne Giants, tales from the forgotten world of knur and spell*, (Nelson: Posh up North, 2002).

Bulled, John, *The Story of the Bradford Boys, a history of the Bradford Metropolitan District Schools' Football Association*, (Bradford: BMDSFA, 1994).

Clasper, David, *Harry Clasper, hero of the north*, (Exeter: Gateshead Books, 1990).

Crampsey, Bob, *The First 100 Years, the Scottish Football League*, (Glasgow: Scottish Football League, 1990).

David, Alex E., *First in the Field, a history of the Birmingham & District Cricket League*, (Studley: Brewin Books, 1988).

Delaney, Trevor, *The Grounds of Rugby League*, (Keighley: Delaney, 1991).

Delaney, Trevor, *The Roots of Rugby League*, (Keighley: Delaney, 1984).

Delaney, Trevor, 'The Great Betrayal at Park Avenue, Bradford, a three way split of the north's oldest rugby clubs', Code 13.

Delaney, Trevor, *'The Impact of Association Football on the Northern Union in the Present West Yorkshire circa 1895-1908, part one when rugby was the people's game'*,

Code 13.

Dillon, Peter, *The Tyne Oarsmen, Harry Clasper, Robert Chambers, James Renforth*, (Newcastle: Keepdate, 1993).

Firth, Gary, *Bingley Rugby Union Football Club, centenary brochure 1876-1976*, (Bingley: 1976).

Fleming, Cameron, *Yorkshire Football, a history*, (Leeds: Scratching Shed, 2010).

Frost, Terry, *Bradford City, a complete record, 1903-1988*, (Nottingham: Breedon, 1988).

Frost, Terry, *Huddersfield Town, a complete record 1910-1990*, (Derby: Breedon, 1990).

Green, Mike,, *The Origin and Development of Football in Leeds*, (Leeds: Ediprint, n.d.).

Gillan, D.R., Dewhirst, J, Clapham, T., Mellor, K, *Of Boars and Bantams*, (Nottingham: Temple, 1988).

Greenwood, J.V., *Bradford Rugby Union Football Club, centenary brochure, 1866-1966*, (Bradford: 1966).

Grillo, Rob, *100 Years on, the first Bradford City, the early years of Bradford (Park Avenue) and other stories*, (Manchester: Parrs Wood Press, 2001).

Hall, Ian, *Cricket at Scarborough*, (Derby: Breedon, 1992).

Hartley, Malcolm and Clapham, Tim, *The Avenue, Bradford Park Avenue AFC pictorial history and club record*, (Nottingham: Temple, 1987).

Hodgson, Derek, *The Official History of Yorkshire County Cricket Club*, (Marlborough: Crowood, 1989).

Inglis, Simon, *Football Grounds of Britain*, (Collins Willow, 1996).

Inglis,, Simon *The Football Grounds of England and Wales*, (Willow Books, 1983).

Inglis, Simon, *League Football and the men who made it*, (Willow, 1988).

Kay, John, *Cricket in the Leagues*, (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970).

Keevans, Hugh and McCarra, Kevin, *100 Cups, the story of the Scottish Cup*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1985).

Lovesey, Peter, *Kings of Distance, a study of five great runners*, (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968).

Lovesey, Peter, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association*, (Enfield: Guinness Superlatives, 1979).

Maud, Donald, *Bradford Cricket Club*, (Bradford: 1973).

Major, John, *More Than a Game, the story of cricket's early years*, (Harper Perennial, 2007).

Pendleton, David & Dewhirst, John, *Along the Midland Road*, (Bradford: Bradford City AFC, 1997).

Pendleton, Pendleton, *Glorious 1911, and the golden age of Bradford City 1908-1915*, (Shipley: bantamspast, 2010).

Pendleton, David, *Paraders, the 125 year history of Valley Parade*, (Shipley: bantamspast, 2011).

Pickup, Peter, *The History of the Bradford Cricket League 1903-1988*, (Pudsey, Fairhaven Books, 1988).

Powell, William, *The Official ECB Guide to Cricket Grounds*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2003).

Powell, William, *The Wisden Guide to Cricket Grounds*, (Stanley Paul, 1992).

Robinson, Lillian, 'Cock-Fighting in Yorkshire', ed., George Redmonds, *Old West Riding*, Vol.2, No.1, Spring 1982.

Sawyer, W.H., *The Jubilee Story of the Bradford City AFC*, (Bradford: Bradford City Shareholders and Supporters Association, 1953).

Spen Valley Local History Survey, *Pennine Pastimes, Knur & Spell*, (Hebden Bridge: Pennine Heritage Network, 1984).

Starmer-Smith, Nigel, *The Barbarians, the official history of the Barbarian Football Club*, (Macdonald/Futura, 1977).

Sullivan, J.D., ed., *Airedale & Wharfedale Senior Cricket League, golden jubilee brochure*, (Otley: Smith Settle, 1986).

Taylor, Arthur, *Played at the Pub, the pub games of Britain*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2009).

Thompson, Arthur, *Odd Men In, a gallery of cricket eccentrics*, (Sportsman's Book Club, 1959).

Thomas Wemyss Reid, *Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster*, (Chapman and Wall, 1888).

West, Alan, *One Hundred Years of the Ribblesdale Cricket league*, (Preston: Carden Press, 1992).

West, G. Derek, *The Elevens of England*, (Darf Publishers, 1988).

Wharton, Ronnie, *The Best of Bradford Amateur Football*, (Pudsey: Allanwood, 1987).

Whitehead, Ian, *James Renforth of Gateshead, champion sculler of the world*, (Newcastle: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2004).

Wilkinson, Geoff, ed., *A Century of Bradford League Cricket, 1903-2003*, (Bradford: Bradford Cricket League, 2003).

Williams, Graham, *The Code War*, (Harefield: Yore Publications, 1994).

Williams, Nigel, *Bradford Northern, the history 1863-1989*, (Bradford: M.Q. Printing, 1989).

Woodlands Cricket Club, *Centenary Year, 1894-1994*, (Bradford: Hart & Clough, 1994).

4. Reports

Little Germany Conservation Area Assessment, (Bradford Council, 2005).

5. Dissertations, thesis and unpublished works

Budd, Catherine Anne, *The Growth of an Urban Sporting Culture – Middlesbrough, c.1870-1914*, (PhD. thesis, De Montfort University, 2012).

Cooper, A.V., *The Manchester Commercial Textile Warehouse, 1780-1914, a study of its typology and practical development*, (PhD. thesis, University of Manchester, 1991).

Crump, Jeremy, *Amusements of the People, the provision of recreation in Leicester, 1850-1914*, (PhD. thesis, University of Warwick, 1985).

Hobbs, Andrew, *Reading the Local Paper, social and cultural functions of the local press in Preston, Lancashire, 1855-1900*, (PhD. thesis, University of Central Lancashire, 2010).

Jackson, Alexander, *Football's Consumer Culture and Juvenile Fan Culture, c1880-c1960*, (PhD. thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University 2011).

Light, Robert F., *Cricket's Forgotten Past: a social and cultural history of the game in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1820-1870*, (PhD. thesis, De Montfort University, 2008).

Light, Robert F., *The Other Face of English Cricket, the origins of league cricket in the West Riding of Yorkshire*, (MA thesis, De Montfort University, 2002).

Pratt, Michael, *The Influence of the Germans on Bradford*, (unpublished essay, Margaret McMillan College, n.d).

Woodman, Deborah Elaine, *The Public House in Manchester and Salford, c. 1815-1880*, (PhD. thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University, 2001).

6 websites

'The Bradford Antiquary' <http://www.bradfordhistorical.org.uk/antiquary/index.html>

'Frederick Delius: life and times in Bradford', www.bradlibs.com/localstudies/delius/pages/claremont.htm

Matthew McDowell, 'Queen's Park FC in Copenhagen, 1898-1903, paradoxes in early transnational amateurism' www.idrottsforum.org/mcdowell11140514

'Yorkshire Dialect Words of Old Norse Origin'

http://www.viking.no/e/england/yorkshire_norse.htm#L